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JAMES B. GREENOUGH, MORRIS H. MORGAN, CHARLES BURTON GULICK,	}	EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.
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DE REBUS AD POMPAS SACRAS APUD GRAECOS PERTI-
NENTIBVS QVAESTIONES SELECTAE

QVAS INSTITVIT

ARTHVRVS G. LEACOCK

PRAEFATIO

CVM multae res quae ad pompas sacras apud Graecos pertinent haudquaquam satis adhuc enucleatae sint, et cum nulla nisi fallimur commentatio sit de huius generis caerimoniis universis edita, perutile nobis esse videtur, testimoniis scriptorum veterum ac monumentorum conlectis, naturam et rationem pomparum tractare. Nam etsi nonnulli viri docti in pompas festis gravioribus ductas (ut Panathenaea, Dionysia, et Eleusinia¹ tantum nominemus) operam sedulo impenderunt, tamen si enchiridia antiquitatum Graecarum sub voces *πομπή*, *πομπεία*, *πομπευτής*, vel etiam *κατηφόρος* et *κανοὺν* inspicias, nulla omnino vel pauca admodum de his rebus in promptu reperientur.² Sed certe si quis omnia veterum instituta ac vitam sibi ante oculos proponere studeat, haec spectacula ei non praetermittenda sunt; nam Graeci propter pietatem in deos permultas pompas ad eorum fana, non solum statis diebus sed etiam cum tempus posceret, sumptu vel publico vel privato ducere solebant. Quod cum ex nominibus sollemnium et mensum quae in *-φορία* et *-φοριων* exeunt satis apparet,³ tum praecipue ex inscriptionibus et multis apud scriptores antiquos locis conligi potest. Huc etiam accedit quod, ut infra demonstrabitur, omnibus fere sacris in quibus victimae vel dona quaedam ad deos transmittuntur nomen *πομπή* inditum est.

¹ Testimonia antiqua de pompa Panathenaea Michaelis (*Der Parthenon*, pp. 327-332) conlegit et disposuit. De hac et aliis Atticorum pompis vir doctissimus A. Mommsen in libro qui *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum* (1898) inscribitur (olim *Heortologie*, 1864) fuse lateque disputat.

² e.g. Stengelius in libro suo, *Die griechischen Sakralaltertümer*, inter caerimonias deorum (*Kultushandlungen*, pp. 57-129) pompas nusquam nominat.

³ *Ἀρρηφόρια*, *Ἀνθεσφόρια*, *Δενδροφόρια*, *Δαφνηφόρια*, *Θεσμοφόρια*, *Ἰσχοφόρια*, *Σκιροφοριών*, *Δρδαφόριος* (Delphicus mensis), *Λαμπαδοφορία*.

Has igitur caerimonias Aristophanes, poeta comicus, qui in popularium suorum institutis moribusque describendis inter omnes excelluit, in scaenam frequenter producit;¹ neque id solum sed etiam in carmine dulcissimo, quo Atticam patriam suam celebrat, pompas sacras quodam quasi vinculo inter templa magnificentissima et deorum simulacra conligatas digne commemorat. Cf. *Nub.* 299 sqq.:

XOP. παρθένοι ὁμβροφόροι,
 ἔλθωμεν λιπαρὰν χθόνα Παλλάδος, εὐάνδρον γὰρ
 Κέκροπος ὀψόμεναι πολυήρατον·
 οὐ σέβας ἀρρήτων ἱερῶν, ἵνα
 μυστοδόκος δόμος
 ἐν τελεταῖς ἀγίαις ἀναδείκνυνται,
 οὐρανίοις τε θεοῖς δωρήματα,
 ναοὶ θ' ὑπερεφείς καὶ ἀγάλματα,
 καὶ πρόσδοι μακάρων ἱερώταται,
 εὐστέφανοί τε θεῶν θυσίαι θαλῖαι τε,
 παντοδαπαῖς ἐν ὥραις. . . .

Summo gaudio igitur et laetitia Graeci pompas deorum aspiciebant. His sollemnibus autem ei qui propter aes alienum in carceres coniecti erant, ex vinculis liberati, in publicum prodibant;² viae quibus agmina pompeutarum (utendum est enim brevitatis causa vocabulo non adhuc vulgato) ad templa deorum processura erant, ne aliqui mali accideret, a sordibus purgatae sunt;³ plateas publicas cives omnes celebraverunt, vestimentis splendidissimis sumptis: sic enim Theocritus habitum Simaethae, quae pompam Dianae spectatum venit, describit (*Id.* 2, 70-75):

καὶ μ' ἃ Θευχαρίδα Θρᾷσσα τροφὸς ἃ μακαρίτις
 ἀγχιθύρος ναίονσα κατεύξατο καὶ λιτάνευσε
 τὰν πομπὰν θάσασθαι· ἐγὼ δέ οἱ ἃ μεγάλαιος
 ὠμάρτευν βύσσοιο καλὸν σύροισα χιτῶνα
 κάμφιστελαιμένα τὰν ξυστίδα τὰν Κλεαρίστας.⁴

¹ *Acharn.* 241 sqq., *Au.* 849 sqq., *Ecol.* 730 sqq., *Plut.* 1197 sqq.

² Cf. interpretem antiquum ad Dem. 22, 68: ἔθος ἦν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις τοὺς δεσμώτας ἀφίεσθαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις, παρασχόντας ἐγγυητὰς πρὸς τὸ μὴ φυγεῖν, ἵνα καὶ τὸ εὐσεβὲς γένηται πρὸς τὸ θεῶν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ὑπάρχη τοῖς χρεωστουμένοις.

³ Vide infra pp. 43-44.

⁴ Cf. etiam Theoc. *Id.* 15, 130 sqq.

Cum autem festis diebus fere solis virgines Graecae in publicum pro-
dirent, saepe accidebat ut multae quae adhuc curarum amoris malarum
expertes fuerant, iuvene candidissimo conspecto, in eum exardescere
inciperent. Itaque hoc minime mirum est quod Simaetha (apud
Theoc. *Id.* 2, 76–86) Delphin ita amare coepit ut pompae prorsus
oblivisceretur :

ἤδη δ' εὔσα μέσαν κατ' ἀμαξιτόν, ἧ τὰ Λύκωνος,
εἶδον ὁμοῦ Δέλφιν τε καὶ Εὐδάμππον ἰόντας.
τοῖς δ' ἦν ξανθοτέρα μὲν ἐλιχρύσοιο γενειάς,
στήθεα δὲ στίλβοντα πολὺ πλέον ἢ τὸ Σελάνα,
ὥς ἀπὸ γυμνασίου καλὸν πόνον ἄρτι λιπόντων.
φράζεό μιν τὸν ἔρωθ' ὅθεν ἵκετο, πότνα Σελάνα.
χῶς ἴδον, ὥς ἐμάνην, ὥς μιν περὶ θυμὸς ἰάφθη
δειλαίας· τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἐτάκετο, κοῦτε τι πομπᾶς
τήνας ἐφρασάμαν, οὐδ' ὥς πάλιν οἴκαδ' ἀπῆλθον
ἔγνων, ἀλλὰ μέ τις καπυρὰ νόσος ἐξεσάλαξα·
κείμεν δ' ἐν κλιντῇρι δέκ' ἄματα καὶ δέκα νύκτας.

Haud secus quoque Alcesimarchus, Selenio visa, amore perditus est
(Plaut. *Cist.* 89 sqq.) :

LE. Ὀψεστρο,

Quó is homo insinuáuit pacto se ád te? SE. Per Dionýsia
Máter pompam mé spectatum dúxit. dum redeó domum,
Cónspicillo cónsecutust clánculum me usque ád fores :
Índe in amicitiam insinuauit cúm matre et mecúm simul
Blánditiis, munéribus, donis. LE. Míhi istunc uellem hominém dari :
Vt ego illum uorsárem. SE. Quid opust uérbis? consuetúdine
Coépi amare cónta illum, et ille me.

Sed vero hoc fecisse neque virgines neque iuvenes paenitebat, quod
sibi deus ipse huiusmodi perturbationis documentum fuisset. Nam
Mercurius ab Africa ad Olympum revolans (ut narrat Ovidius, *Met.* 2,
708 sqq.) Athenas venit :

Hinc se sustulerat paribus Caducifer alis :
Munychiosque volans agros gratamque Minervae .
Despectabat humum cultique arbusta Lycei.

Attici autem sollemnia Minervae celebrabant :

Illa forte die castae de more puellae
Vertice subposito festas in Palladis arces
Pura coronatis portabant sacra canistris.

Tum deus, simul atque Hersen canephorum vidit, amore gravi perculsus est :

Quanto splendidior quam cetera sidera fulget
Lucifer, et quanto te, Lucifer, aurea Phoebe :
Tanto virginibus praestantior omnibus Herse
Ibat eratque decus pompae comitumque suarum.
Obstipuit forma Iove natus, et aethere pendens
Non secus exarsit, quam cum Balearica plumbum
Funda iacit : volat illud et incandescit eundo.

Sed fabulis relictis, ut exemplum ex vera historia eruamus, Plutarchus testatur virgines Laconicas in pompis deorum ita prodire solitas esse ut iuvenes uxores sibi eas poscerent. Cf. *Lycurg.* 14 :

οὐδὲν ἥττον εἴθισε τῶν κόρων τὰς κόρας γυμνάς τε πομπεύειν καὶ ἱεροῖς τισιν ὀρχεῖσθαι καὶ ᾄδειν τῶν νέων παρόντων καὶ θεωμένων . . .
Pergit Plutarchus (cap. 15) : ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰτα παρορμητικὰ πρὸς γάμον· λέγω δὲ τὰς πομπὰς τῶν παρθένων καὶ τὰς ἀποδύσεις καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν ὧσι τῶν νέων. Hodie etiam apud Megarenses mos est ut virginum chori die tertio post Pascham cursus orchesticos patrio ritu ad numeros quosdam per forum huc illuc moveant. Hae autem virgines vestibis ornatissimis indutae, non solum omnium oculos ad se convertunt, sed etiam procos adlicere dicuntur. Sed haec alia quaestio est. Nos ad propositum revertamur.

Praeterea notandum est permultas pompas apparatu magnificentissimo instructas esse. Currus enim sacri fuerunt; vestimenta ornatissima, coronae, vasa ex auro argentoque facta inter ea utensilia quae πομπεία dicuntur nominanda sunt. Hinc, ut Cicero iucunde narrat,¹ *Socrates in pompa cum magna vis auri argentique ferretur, 'Quam multa non desidero!' inquit.* Quanta vero in hos sumptus pecunia erogata sit, ex rationibus quaestorum pomparum quas infra disposuimus satis perspicue apparet.² Cum autem Athenienses, imperio dilapso, sollemnia annua

¹ *Tusc. Disput.* 5, 91.

² Vide infra pp. 44-45.

minore quam antea sumptu celebraverint, Diadochi tamen qui recentiore aetate regno Alexandri Magni partito successerunt opes suas in pompas luxuriae atque impensae immoderatissimae profundere soliti sunt. Vide Athenaeum, 197 C-203 B.

Tum autem Romanos quoque patrio ritu multas deorum pompas instruendas curavisse satis inter omnes constat. His etiam pompis nonnullas quae originem a rebus apud Graecos divinis deduxerunt nobis addere licet; nam in institutis sacris Romanorum quin permulta sive cultus deorum sive caerimoniae sive ritus a Graecis ducta sint nemo fere dubitat.

Inde a primo post Christum natum saeculo Veteris Ecclesiae patres, cum contra cultus inanum deorum scribere coepissent, pompas quoque propter idololatriam *principale crimen generis humani* verbis severis reprehenderunt. Cf. Tertullianum, *De Spectaculis*, cap. 7 :

Proinde apparatus communes habeant necesse est de reatu generali idololatriae conditricis suae. Sed circensium paulo pompator suggestus, quibus proprie hoc nomen pompa, praecedens, quorum sit in semetipsa probans de simulacrorum serie, de imaginum agmine, de curribus, de tensis, de armamaxis, de sedibus, de coronis, de exuviis. Quanta praeterea sacra, quanta sacrificia praecedant, intercedant, succedant, quot collegia, quot sacerdotia, quot officia moveantur, sciunt homines illius urbis in qua daemoniorum conventus consedit . . . Tum de pompis in provinciis et urbibus minoribus pergit Tertullianus: etsi pauca simulacra circumferat, in uno idololatria est; etsi unam tensam trahat, Iovis tamen plaustrum est: quaevis idololatria sordide instructa vel modice locuples splendida est censu criminis sui.

Ab his pompis Christianos priscos abstinuisse dicit persona Caecilius apud Minucium Felicem (*Octav. cap. 12*) :

Nonne Romani sine vestro Deo imperant, regnant, fruuntur orbe toto, vestrique dominantur? Vos vero suspensi interim atque solliciti, honestis voluptatibus abstinetis: non spectaculis visitis, non pompis interestis.

Sed vero dum Ecclesia adolescit et a fontibus disciplinae Christianae incorruptis longius abscedit, multae ex falsorum deorum cultibus caerimoniae in ritus simplices ab Apostolis acceptos aut sensim inrepserunt aut, nullo fere adversante, auctoritatem principum Ecclesiae concilia-

verunt. Ex quo accidit ut eae pompae quae Carnalibus, quae vocant, etiam hodie transmittuntur multis ante saeculis exorerentur.¹ Nonnulla igitur a pompis antiquis ducta usque ad nostra tempora permanserunt.

Nunc restat ut de finibus quas in hoc opusculo ordinando constituimus breviter dicamus, ne nos equidem τὸν πύνδακα εἰσπρόνουν quod aiunt videamur. Consilium erat nobis olim propositum pompas singillatim tractare, quod vero, quandoquidem difficultates vel maximas invenimus, in tempus abiciendum est. Nam si studeas pompas sacras singillatim explicare et de omnibus rebus ad has pertinentibus luculenter atque copiose disserere, necesse est omnes deorum cultus pervestigare et eorum vel naturam vel rationem vel caerimonias explicatius exponere. Sed evenit dum in haec studia operam impendimus ut hoc animadvertemus eadem quasi elementa vel partes pompis singulis semper fere inhaerere. Haec igitur investigare in animo est, et speramus, initio facto, rem eo venturam esse ut nos postea omnes Graecorum pompas fusius quam in eiusmodi opusculo fieri possit pertractemus. Hactenus haec. Iam per singula quae ad pompas deorum pertinent persequamur.

Primum vero placet ante definire quid sit pompa. Itaque hanc quae in *Forc. Lex.* proponitur definitionem, quandoquidem cum rebus optime congruit, subicimus :

Pompa proprie est transvectio apparatus sollemnis per publicas vias cum ostentatione et specie quadam triumphi et agmine plurium incedentium tam in laetis rebus quam in lugubribus. Huiusmodi erant deductio sponsae in domum sponsi, exsequiae, transvectio sacrorum in ludis, supplicationibus, triumphis.

Talis in universum pompa est. Sed ut sacras Graecorum pompas penitus pervestigemus, necesse est haec genera distinguere :

1. Primum vero notum est veteres ut ante oculos spectatorum demonstrarent quo modo res gravissimi momenti divinae ortae essent,

¹ Vir doctissimus Schickius Monacensis nos per amicum certiores benigne facit vocem *carnival* neque a *carnem* + *vale* (ut vulgo existimatur), neque a *carnem* + *levāre* (ut vult nescio quis in *Lex. Oxon.*), sed a *currus* + *navalis* (cf. Gall. *carnaval*) magna cum probabilitate deducendam esse. Manifestum est enim navem Panathenaicam, currus sacros, tensas, et vehicula alia in apparatus illos qui apud nos "floats" dicuntur abisse.

caerimonias quasdam statim temporibus quasi denuo egisse; e. g. cum dies festus recurreret quo cultus et ritus nescio cuius dei in patriam olim introducti erant, simulacrum vel alia sacra dei extra urbem deportabantur ut inde per vias communi omnium gaudio reverterentur. Cf. pompam Dionysi Eleutherensis quam Pausanias (I, 29, 2) commemorat.¹ Huius generis pompa a veteribus *ἀνodos τοῦ θεοῦ* vel *ἀνάβασις τοῦ θεοῦ* vocabatur. Vide *Bull. de Corr. Hellénique*, 1887, p. 385. Currus autem quo simulacrum dei vehebatur *ἱερὰ ἀπήνη* vocatus esse videtur; nam exstat nummus Ephesius (vide Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 498) qui inscriptionem *ΙΕΡΑ ΑΤΗΝΗ* ostendit. Hoc vero pomparum genus, quia in his victimae ad deos ab agminibus pompeutarum nonnumquam ducebantur, cum genere altero quod infra exponitur in parte congruit.

2. Deinde pompas illas considerare licet omnium usitatas in quibus antiqui hostias aut dona quaedam ad deorum templa sive ut votum persolverent sive ut numina sibi conciliarent transmittabant.² Huius generis pompae cum aliae alio modo ductae sint, easdem fere partes (ut ita dicamus) habent. Has igitur ut examinemus, auctores veteres et monumenta testes proferamus:

Vas quoddam vetustioris artis nigris figuris exornatum quod in Museo Brittanico servatur pompam sacrificalem ostendit.³ Ad aram deae proccedit canephorus, quam sequuntur duo viri taurum agentes. Inter hos tibicen tibias pares inflat. Tum quattuor pompeutae se excipiunt; ex his vero unus vasculum (*χερσιβεῖον*, ut videtur) fert, alii faces et coronas portant. Deinde alii quattuor pompeutae biiugo mulorum vehiculo vehuntur. Post agmen sequitur vir qui virgam (*πάβδον*) in manu tenet. Hanc picturam vir Anglicus Cecil Smithius erudite interpretatus est (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, I, pp. 202–209): sub

¹ Idem fere ritus apud Sicyonios, Paus. 2, 7, 5–6. Cf. etiam pompam Apollinis et Dianae eadem in urbe a quattuordecim virginibus et pueris ductam, Paus. 2, 7, 7–8.

² Hoc optime declaravit Hermannus (*Lehrbuch der griech. Antiq.* II, cap. 15): Ursprünglich war es immer ein bestimmter Gegenstand dem auf solche Art unter festlichen Gesängen das Geleite gegeben ward, und insbesondere erscheint es als Zweck solcher Processionen irgend etwas zu tragen was mit der Bedeutung des Gottes oder seines Festes in Beziehung stand. Doch konnte es eben so gut auch ein Bittgang sein der Opfer und Weihgeschenke nach einem Heiligtum brachte.

³ *Catalogue of Vases* (British Museum), B 405.

diem nuptialem patrem virginis et propinquos eius pompam ad deam Minervam ducere ut sacrificia (προτέλεια vel προγάμεια) boni eventus causa faciant. Huic viro docto adsentimur. Sed haec alias; nostra quidem aliis rebus omissis hoc tantum interest quas partes pompa sacrificialis habeat.

Cum hac vasis pictura locus Aristophanis comici quo res divinae quaedam describuntur mirum quantum congruit. Nam in fabula *Avibus* (vv. 848–862) Pisthetaerus, urbis Nephelococcygiae conditor, ut sacrificia dis novis faciat pompam instruendam suscipit. Hos igitur versus infra disposuimus quibuscum singula ex vasis pictura hausta comparantur :

VAS	ARISTOPHANES
Pompa	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 848 \text{ ἐγὼ δ' ἵνα θύσω τοῖς καινοῖσι θεοῖς,} \\ 849 \text{ τὸν ἱερέα πέμψοντα τὴν πομπὴν καλῶ.} \end{array} \right.$
Canephorus	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 850 \text{ παῖ, παῖ, τὸ κανοῦν αἴρσθε . . .} \\ 864 \text{ . . . ἀλλὰ ποῦ 'στιν ὁ τὸ κανοῦν ἔχων;} \end{array} \right.$
Hostia	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 856 \text{ προβάτιόν τι θύειν.} \\ 862 \text{ ἱερεῦ, σὸν ἔργον, θῦε τοῖς καινοῖς θεοῖς.} \\ 901 \text{ τὰ γὰρ παρόντα θύματ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν} \\ 902 \text{ γένειόν ἐστι καὶ κέρατα.} \end{array} \right.$
Tibicen (προσόδιον)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 852 \text{ συμπαραινέσας ἔχω προσ-} \\ 853 \text{ ὀδία μεγάλα} \\ 854 \text{ σεμνὰ προσιέναι θεοῖσιν . . .} \\ 857 \text{ ἴτω, ἴτω, ἴτω δὲ Πυθιάς βοά·} \\ 858 \text{ συναδέτω δὲ Χαῖρις ψῶδάν.} \\ 859 \text{ παῦσαι σὺ φυσῶν. Ἡράκλεις, τουτὶ τί ἦν;} \\ 861 \text{ οὔπω κόρακ' εἶδον ἐμπεφορβιωμένον.} \end{array} \right.$
Apparatus Sacrificialis (πομπεία)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 850 \text{ τὸ κανοῦν . . . καὶ τὴν χέρνιβα.} \\ 896 \text{ δεῖ με δεύτερον μέρος χέρ-} \\ 897 \text{ νιβι θεοσεβὲς ὄσιον ἐπιβοᾶν . . .} \end{array} \right.$
Pompeutae	848–903 Πεισθέταιρος (et alii?).

Has igitur quasi partes pompae sacrificialis distinguimus: 1. Canephorus. 2. Hostia (vel sacrum quoddam). 3. Apparatus sacrificialis = *πομπεία*. 4. Tibicen, et *προσόδια* quae ad tibiam cantantur. 5. Agmen pompeutarum.

Itaque primum in hoc opusculo agitur

1. De Canephoris.
2. De Vasis quae *πομπεία* dicuntur.
3. De Prosodiis.

Deinde sequuntur quaestiones

4. De Ordine Pompeutarum.
5. De Vestitu Pompeutarum.
6. De Curatoribus Pomparum.
7. De Viis Praeparandis.
8. De Sumptibus Pomparum.

Hostias et sacra quae in pompis ad deos agebantur, cum alia alio in cultu usitata fuerint, hoc tempore praetermittimus. Eandem ob causam vasa pompalia dis singulis propria (ut Bacchica) non tractavimus.

I. DE CANEPHORIS

Quaestio prima de canephoris proponitur. Graeci enim lectas virgines quae in pompis sacris sublatiis manibus portabant canistra (τὰ κανᾶ) capitibus imposita *κανηφόρους* vocabant. Simili quoque modo hoc officium *κανηφορία* (cf. Plat. *Hipparch.* 229 C) appellatur, et *κανηφορεῖν* nihil aliud significat nisi id administrare. Quamquam autem omnes fere grammaticorum definitiones ad pompam Panathenaicam vel ad cultum Minervae spectant,¹ tamen ex testimoniis undique conlectis satis constat et Athenis et in aliis urbibus Graeciae canephoros multis pompis interfuisse non solum ad Minervam sed etiam ad alias deas vel deos ductis.² Quam ob rem nos operae pretium esse iudicavimus quaerere de canephoris et omnibus rebus ad has virgines pertinentibus.

¹ Harpocration (= Suidas): *φέρειν τὰ κανᾶ τῇ θεῷ*. Hesychius: *κανηφόροι. ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς αἱ παρθένοι ἐκανηφόρουν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις*. Cf. script. anonym. ap. Bekk. *Anec. Graec.* 270, 31: *παρθένοι τὰ κανᾶ φέρουσιν τῇ θεῷ ἐν τῇ τῶν Παναθηναίων πομπῇ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἑορταῖς*.

² Vide catalogum cultuum p. 19.

Primum vero si quis quaerat de origine huius muneris atque honoris, nullum reperiri potest testimonium, quantum nos quidem scimus, nisi id quod apud Harpocratonem servatur :

Περὶ τῶν κανηφόρων Φιλόχορος ἐν β' Ἀτθίδος φησὶν ὡς Ἐριχθονίου βασιλεύοντος πρῶτον κατέστησαν αἱ ἐν ἀξιώματι παρθένοι φέρειν τὰ κανὰ τῇ θεῷ. Quae de canephoris apud Athenienses si inspexeris, facile concludas Philochorum, scriptorem fidelissimum, propter obscuritatem rei famam vulgo traditam secutum esse, et aetati incertae Erichthoni, regis mythici, originem ascripsisse. Nihil igitur obstat quominus hoc officium priscis temporibus ortum esse putemus.

Deinde pauca de stirpe atque genere canephororum dicere licet ; nam grammatici Graeci qui ex fontibus antiquis hauserunt nobis tradunt canephoros ex patriciis natas esse. Cf. Phot. *Lex.* (s. v. *κανηφόρος*) : *κανηφόροι . . . αὐταὶ δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ εὐγενῶν ἦσαν.* Huic adsentitur auctor anonymus apud Bekk. *Anec. Graec.* 270, 31 : *ἐκανηφόρον δὲ αἱ ἀσταὶ καὶ εὐγενεῖς.* Est autem nobis traditum virginem quandam, sororem tyrannicidae Harmodi, quae a Pisistratidis accessita esset ut canistra in pompa Panathenaica portaret, ab honore illo exclusam esse. Cf. Thuc. 6, 56 : *ἀδελφὴν γὰρ αὐτοῦ (Harmodi) κόρην ἐπαγγέλλαντες ἤκειν κανοῦν οἴσουσαν ἐν πομπῇ τινι, ἀπήλασαν λέγοντες οὐδὲ ἐπαγγέλλαι τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀξίαν εἶναι.* Hac de re si vero quaeras quas ob causas praeter invidiam haec virgo a Pisistratidis reiecta sit, ex testimonio Herodoti elucet Harmodium et sororem neque a patriciis neque prorsus ab Atticorum stirpe ortos esse. Cf. Herod. 5, 55 : *Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Ἀρμόδιος, γένος ἐόντες τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραῖοι . . .* et ibidem (5, 57) : *οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι . . . ἦσαν Φοίνικες.* Sed ad famam huius virginis nescio quo pacto potius spectare videtur testimonium Aristotelis, ex quo concludi possit puellam ab officio sacro exclusam esse quia Harmodius, accusante Thettalo, suis facinoribus sororem insontem in infamiam traxisset. Cf. Arist. *De Repub. Athen.* 18, 2 : *Θετταλὸς δὲ νεώτερος πολὺ καὶ τῷ βίῳ θρασὺς καὶ ὑβριστής . . . οὐ κατείχε τὴν ὀργὴν ἀλλ' ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνεσημαίνετο πικ[ρ]ῶς καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον μέλλουσαν αὐτοῦ (Harmodi) τὴν ἀδελφὴν κανηφορεῖν Παναθηναίους ἐ[κώ]λυσεν, λοιδορήσας τι τὸν Ἀρμόδιον ὡς μαλακὸν ὄντα.* Quam multum vero scriptores antiqui qui narrationes de Harmodio et Pisistratidis exponunt inter se dissentiant nemo fere nescit, ut, spinis huius rei

neglectis, hoc saltem adfirmari possit haud magnum dubium esse quin canephoros non solum ex civibus nasci oportuerit sed etiam bonam famam sibi usque servare.

Tum autem de canephororum aetate testimonia luculenta praebet Aristophanes. Nam apud comicum mulier Attica inducitur (*Lysist.* 638 sqq.) quae in ordine dinumerat munera sacra a se in civitate expleta :

ἡμεῖς γάρ, ὦ πάντες ἀστοί, λόγων κατάρχομεν
τῇ πόλει χρησίμων·
εἰκότως, ἐπεὶ χλιδῶσαν ἀγλαῶς ἔθραψέ με.
ἐπτα μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθὺς ἡρρηφόρου·
εἴτ' ἀλετρὶς ἦ δεκέτις οὔσα τάρχηγέτι·
καὶ τ' ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίους·
κάκανηφόρου ποτ' οὔσα παῖς καλή, 'χουσ'
ισχάδων ὀρμαθόν·

Unde recte concludas virgines post decimum annum canephoros fieri potuisse. Sed accedit quod veteres mentionem canephororum faciunt quae ad pubertatem pervenerant, et iam ad se procos adlexerant. Cf. schol. ad Theoc. *Id.* 2, 66 : εἰώθασι γὰρ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι κανηφορεῖν αἱ μέλλουσαι γαμεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ ἀφοσιώσει τῆς παρθενίας, ἵνα μὴ νεμεσθῶσιν ὑπ' αὐτῆς. τὰ δὲ μυστήρια ταῦτα Ἀθήνησι πολιτεύονται. ἐκανηφόρου δὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι αἱ ὥραν ἔχουσαι γάμον, ὥσπερ ἀπολογούμεναι περὶ τῆς παρθενίας τῇ θεῇ ἵνα μὴ ὀργισθῇ αὐταῖς μελλούσαις τὸ λοιπὸν φθείρεσθαι. Eodem etiam spectat locus Plutarchi (*Amat. Narrat.* 771 E) quo narratur Aristocleam, virginem Boeotiam, quae esset Iovi Regi canistrum gessura, duos procos habuisse. Virgines igitur inde a decimo anno usque ad tempus nubendi idoneae erant quae hoc munus administrandum susciperent.

Quaeritur autem num canephorum sexus virilis fuerint. Nam Saglio, testimonio Plutarchi in *Amat. Narrat.* 771 E adnixus, adfirmat in cultu Iovis Regis apud Boeotios pueros officio canephorico fungi solitos esse.¹ Quae sententia vitiosa est quia hic vir doctus locum Plutarchi, ut videtur, male intellexit; locus enim est : ἐν Ἀλιάρτῳ τῆς Βοιωτίας κόρη τις γίνεται κάλλι διαπρέπουσα ὄνομα Ἀριστόκλεια . . . ταύτην

¹ Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict.* s. v. *canephorae*.

μνῶνται Στράτων Ὀρχομένιος καὶ Καλλισθένης Ἀλιάρτιος. πλουσιώτερος δ' ἦν Στράτων καὶ μᾶλλον τι τῆς παρθένου ἡττημένος. ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἰδὼν αὐτὴν ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ λουμένην ἐπὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ Ἐρκύνῃ· ἔμελλε γὰρ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ κανηφορεῖν. Saglio vero cum verbis ἔμελλε γὰρ κτλ. subaudire Στράτων videtur. Sed cum his verbis potius Ἀριστόκλεια subaudiri debet, quod e contextu intelligi potest hanc virginem ut se ad hoc munus rite gerendum praepararet in sacro fonte Hyrcanae lautam esse. Praeterea Saglio (*Dict.* s. v.) figuram pueri ex argilla factam commemorat quam esse canephorum esse virilem adfirmat.¹ Sed hanc figuram canephorum repraesentare haudquaquam pro certo statui potest, nam calathus potius quam canistrum capiti imponi videtur. Accedit quod puer nudus repraesentatur. At enim manifestum est si qui ad canistra portanda selecti sine vestimentis in pompis publicis prodissent, id sane contra morem consuetudinemque sacram facturos fuisse. Cf. quae de habitu pompeutarum infra p. 37 diximus. Gravissimum vero de canephoris sexus virilis testimonium apud Aristophanem reperimus (*Av.* 864). Nam senex quidam cum pompam comicam ducit ut sacra propter urbem nuper conditam faciat sic quaerit :

ἀλλὰ ποῦ ὅστιν ὁ τὸ κανοῦν ἔχων;

Quocum congruit locus Homericus (*Od.* γ 439 sqq.) :

βοῦν δ' ἀγέτην κεράων Στρατίος καὶ δῖος Ἐχέφρων.
 χέρνιβα δέ σφ' Ἀρητος ἐν ἀνθεμόεντι λέβητι
 ἦλυθεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο φέρων, ἑτέρῃ δ' ἔχεν οὐλὰς
 ἐν κανέῳ·

His locis igitur examinatis verisimile esse videtur in publicis deorum festis virgines tantum canistra portavisse (vide catalogum cultuum p. 19) ; ceterum in pompis privatis et sacrificiis aut virgines (cf. *Ar. Acharn.* 242) aut pueros munus canephoricum administrare potuisse.

Quo modo autem virgines ad hoc officium selectae sint non certe cognosci potest. Pisistratidae vero, ut ex loco Thucydidis supra laudato (p. 10) apparet, cum tyrannidem Athenis occupassent, ipsi canephoros selegerunt. Sed ex glossemate Suidae satis constat archontem regem

¹ Vide Wincklemann, *Mon. Ined.*, pl. ccv.

Athenis arrhephoros capere solitum esse : ἐπιώψατο· ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιώψατο (= κατέλεξεν) ἀρρηφόρους. Simili quoque modo ab archonte eponymo, qui Dionysia curabat canephoros selectas esse docet decretum in insula Scyro repertum :¹

Νικασίων Δημητρίου Ἀθηνεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ τῆς καταλείψεως κανηφόρου ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχοντος Ἀθηνίωνος τοῦ Διονυσίου [Τ]ιμοξένας ὁ πατὴρ Ἀρκεσίδημος τὴν τε πομπὴν ἐπευσχημόνησε ὥς ἐδύνατο βέλτιστα καὶ θῆμα παρέστησεν τῷ θεῷ,² καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐνεστράφη φιλοτίμως καὶ εὖσεβῶς καὶ ἀκολούθως τῇ Ἀθηναίων προαίρεσει . . . ἐπαινέσαι, κτλ. Eandem fere formam habet titulus mutilus *CIA.* 2, 420 :

. . . τὸν πατέρα (sc. ἐπαινέσαι) τῆς καταλε[γ]είσης κανηφόρου . . . αἴουσσαν τὸ ἱερὸν κανοῦν τῷ θεῷ (Dionyso) κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.³

Sed titulus honorarius, *CIA.* 4, 421, cd,⁴ docet virum quem populus ad pompam Panathenaicam administrandam constituerat filiam suam canephorum fecisse :

[καὶ πάντ]α τὰ πρὸς τὴν πομπὴν . . . καὶ [τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε]ν ἀξίως τῆς τε [ἀρχῆς κα]ὶ τοῦ χειροτονήσαντος [αὐτὸν δήμου ἔ]λεξεν δὲ καὶ [καὶ κανηφόρον] τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέ[ρα. . . .

His igitur inscriptionibus inspectis nihil fere obstat quominus concludi possit archontem sive eponymum sive regem aut canephoros seligere solitum esse aut iura sua curatoribus pomparum qui ἐπιμεληταί appellabantur impertivisse.

Iam illud examinemus quod ad numerum canephororum attinet. Inter omnes fere pompas privato sumptu ductas singulae canephorī versatae esse videntur.⁵ In pompis publicis quoque, ut docent tituli honorarii quos infra (pp. 18–19) conlegimus, singulae canephorī hoc munere plerumque fungebantur. Idem vero testimonium praebent

¹ De quo bene disseruit Lebègue, *Revue Archéologique*, 1873, p. 173 sqq. Titulus est ineunti saeculo a.C. secundo attribuendus.

² Dionyso, ut Lebègue monuit (l. l.).

³ Hoc decretum anno 188/7 a.C. exaratum est.

⁴ Haud multo post annum 308 a.C.

⁵ De quo conferas locos Aristophanis a nobis alibi adiectos : *Eccl.* 732 (p. 16), *Av.* 864 (p. 8), et *Acharn.* 242 (p. 34).

monumenta.¹ Sed in pompa Panathenaeorum sive maiorum sive minorum plures prodire solebant.² Titulus etiam in theatro Dionysi Athenis repertus (*CIA.* 3, 338) qui sellas magistratibus et aliis hoc honore dignis proprias adsignat haec verba ostendit:

κανηφόροις γ' ἀπὸ Παλλαδί[ου].

Pausanias autem de Lycurgo oratore hoc refert (1, 29, 16): Λυκοῦργος . . . κατεσκεύασε δὲ πομπεία τῇ θεῷ καὶ Νίκῃ χρυσᾶς καὶ παρθένοις κόσμον ἑκατόν. Ex quo tamen haudquaquam satis apparet centum canephoros suum quamque in pompa canistrum portavisse. Iudicamus vero omnes plerasque vestimenta et ornamenta canephorica gerentes honoris causa tantum selectas esse et sine canistris in agminibus pompeutarum incessisse.

De vestitu harum virginum testimonium gravissimum praebet Aristophanes (*Lysist.* 1188 sqq.):

στρωμάτων δὲ ποικίλων καὶ
χλανιδίων καὶ ξυστίδων καὶ
χρυσίων, ὅσ' ἐστὶ μοι,
οὐ φθόνος ἔνεστί μοι
πᾶσι παρέχειν φέρειν τοῖς
παισίν, ὅπότεν τε θυγά-
τηρ τινὲ κανηφορῇ.

(a) *Στρώματα*. Sunt stragulae vestes. In universum appellatio στρῶμα vestimentum significat quod umeris supra tunicam inicitur. Haec Graeci περιβλήματα vel ἐπιβλήματα vocitabant. Cf. etiam Pollucem, 10, 42: τὰ δὲ στρώματα· ἐπιβλήματα, περιβόλαια, ἐφεστρίδες, χλαῖναι ταπίδες, ξυστίδες. Erant autem rubro colore et acu picta (ποικίλα). Cf. interpretem antiquum Aristophanis ad *Plutum* 1199: αὐτὴ ποικίλα· λείπει τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἢ ποικίλα ἱμάτια ἔχονσα σεμνῶς ἦλθες. πορφυροῖς γὰρ καὶ ποικίλοις ἱματίοις ἐπόμπενον.

¹ Cf. vasis picturam, p. 8. Cicero (*Verr.* 4, 5) duo signa aënea describit quae canephoros vocabantur, opus Polycliti, sed utrum haec inter se coniuncta sint an seiuncta steterint non iudicari potest.

² *CIA.* 2, 163 (Panath. min.).

(δ) Χλανίδια. Haec quoque in genus τῶν περιβλημάτων referenda esse locus Pollucis (10, 48) demonstrat: χλανὶς δὲ ἱμάτιον λεπτόν· καὶ χλανίδια δ' αὐτὰ καὶ χλανιδίσκια ἐκάλουν. Cf. Hesych.: χλανίδες· λεπτὰ ἱμάτια.

(ε) Ξυστίδες. Xystides ad genus stragularum vestium pertinere ex testimonio Pollucis supra adiecto satis plane apparet. Sed ne veteres quidem de xystide scribentes inter se consentiunt, ex quo, ut Beckerius monuit (Becker-Göll, *Charikles*, III, 258), suspicari licet vocabulum ξυστίς non ad certam vestimenti formam ac figuram spectare sed potius ad eius materiem et ornamenta. Itaque hanc vestem alicubi ποδήρης ἔνδυμα vel χιτῶνα ποδήρη γυναικείον, alicubi τραγικὸν ἔνδυμα appellatam reperimus. Est nonnumquam ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν et κροκωτὸν vel ἱππικὸν ἔνδυμα vel λεπτὸν ὕφασμα vocatum (Becker-Göll, *Charikles*, III, 258). Sed ξυστίς est imprimis vestis festa quam Graeci in pompis sumebant. Cf. Ar. *Nub.* 69 sq.:

ὅταν σὺ μέγας ὦν ἄρμ' ἐλαύνῃς πρὸς πόλιν,
ὥσπερ Μεγακλῆς, ξυστίδ' ἔχων.

et schol. ad loc.: καὶ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν οἱ εἰσελαύνοντες ἀθληταὶ τοιοῦτον κοσμηθέντες σχήματι καὶ ἄρματος ἐπιβάντες διὰ μέσης πομπεύουσι τῆς πόλεως . . . ξυστίς λέγεται τὸ κροκωτὸν ἱμάτιον ὃ οἱ ἡνίοχοι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν φοροῦσι πομπεύοντες. Ξυστίς· εἶδος ἱματίου πορφυροῦ.

(δ) Χρυσία. Qualia fuerint haec ornamenta propter inopiam testimoniorum constitui nequit. Alio Aristophanis loco (*Acharn.* 257 sq.) χρυσία κανηφορικά commemorantur. Senex enim Dicaearchus in pompa phallica filiam cavere iubet ne quispiam ornamenta aurea sua surripiat:

πρόβαινε, κὰν τῷχλψ φυλάττεσθαι σφόδρα
μή τις λαθῶν σου περιτράγῃ τὰ χρυσία.

Mundum autem canephoris faciendum curavit Lycurgus; cf. Paus. 1, 29, 16: Λυκούργος . . . κατεσκεύασε δὲ πομπεία τῇ θεῷ . . . καὶ παρθένους κόσμον ἑκατόν. Quocum conferas titulum mutilum (*CIA.* 2, 162, c, 10) qui verba κόσμος κανηφορικός exhibet.

(ε) Canephorī nonnumquam catenas caricarum ex collis suspensas gerebant. Nam in *Lysistrata* Aristophanis (vv. 646–7) mulier quae muneribus sacris functa est haec dicit:

κάκανηφόρουν ποτ' οὔσα παῖς καλή, 'χονσ'
ισχάδων ὄρμαθόν.

Caricae enim *φάρμακον* fuerunt quod Attici lustrationis causa in pompis portabant. Cf. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 534 (Bekkeri): *ἔθος ἦν ἐν Ἀθήναις φαρμακοὺς ἄγειν δύο, τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν, τὸν δὲ ὑπὲρ γυναικῶν, πρὸς τὸν καθαρμὸν ἀγομένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν μελαίνας ἰσχάδας περὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἶχε, λευκὰς δ' ἄτερος.*

(f) Canephoros autem ora sua vel capillos saltem farina conspersisse ex duobus locis apud comicos repertis satis late patere apparet. Primum vero interpres antiquus ad versum 1551 Ar. *Avium* fragmentum ex *Diis* Hermippi servat:¹

- [A] ὥσπερ αἱ κανηφόροι
λευκοῖσιν ἀλφίτοισιν ἐντετριμμένος.
[B] ἐγὼ δ' ἐνέκαψα λανθάνων τὴν διφροφόρον.

Vbi *ἐντετριμμένος* pro *ἐντετριμμένοις* legendum esse iure censet Meineke: *Describi enim videtur, inquit, aliquis qui canephororum habitum imitaretur.* Quam sententiam secutus est Kock: *Conloqui videntur duo qui in Panathenaeorum pompa communi omnium gaudio et securitate abusi nescio quid surripuerant.* Locus alter est apud Aristophanem (*Ecll.* 730 sqq.): senex quidam inducitur qui est supellectilem suam et utensilia domestica ordinaturus ut ea in schema pompae ad forum ducat. Itaque iubet cribrum farinarium (*κιναχύραν*) foras exire ut officio canephorico fungatur:

χώρει σὺ δεῦρο κιναχύρα καλὴ καλῶς
τῶν χρημάτων θύραζε πρώτη τῶν ἐμῶν,
ὅπως ἂν ἐντετριμμένη κανηφορῆς,
πολλοὺς κάτω δὴ θυλάκους στρέψας' ἐμούς.

Apte igitur poeta, quia mos erat ut canephorum farina pro cerussa uterentur, cribrum farinarium canephorum fecit. Hunc in morem quadrat id quod decretum de Andaniorum mysteriis (Dittenberg. *Syll.* 388) commemorat: *ἐν δὲ τῇ πομπῇ . . . μὴ ἐχέτω μηδεμία . . . μηδὲ φῦκος μηδὲ ψιμίθιον.* Opinio nos igitur tenet eandem legem Atticis fuisse, ut canephorum, cum cerussa ac minio uti vetitum sit, ora sua farina tingerent.

¹ Kock, *Com. Att.* I, 231, 26; Meineke, *Com. Graec.* 389, 2.

Iam his confectis quaestionem instituimus quo modo canepthori se in pompis gesserint. De hoc quidem constat incessum canepthorum lentum atque augustum fuisse. Horatius enim qui dum Athenis discit pompas Atticas aspexerat superbum servi incessum sic describit (*Sat.* 2, 8, 13-15) :

ut Attica virgo
Cum sacris Cereris procedit fuscus Hydaspes
Caecuba vina ferens.

Cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 9 sqq. :

saepe velut qui
Currebat fugiens hostem, persaepe velut qui
Iunonis sacra ferret.

Quem ad locum Porphyrio : *κανηφόροι* apud Athenas hodieque dicuntur quae sacra in capite portant et sensim incedunt et lento gradu. Huc etiam pertinent nonnulli tituli honorarii quos infra (pp. 18-19) disposuimus ; ex quibus cf. *CIG.* 3602 :

καλῶς καὶ ἐ[ν]δό[ξ]ως κανηφορήσασαν [εὖς]εβίας ἔνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τὴν θεάν.

In pompa autem phallica (Ar. *Acharn.* 253-4) Dicaearchus filiam iubet officium digne gerere :

ἀγ', ὦ θύγατερ, ὅπως τὸ κανοῦν καλῇ καλῶς
οἴσεις, βλέπουσα θυμβροφάγον.

Cf. quoque *Plut.* v. 1197 sqq. :

τὰς χύτρας, αἷς τὸν θεὸν
ἰδρυσόμεθα, λαβοῦσ' ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φέρε
σεμνῶς.

Hae virgines etiam propter praestantem formam atque pulchritudinem seligebantur. Cf. Plutarchum (*Amat. Narrat.* 771 E) : Ἀριστόκλεια . . . διαπρέπουσα κάλλει ; Ar. *Lysist.* 644 : παῖς καλή . . . (ἐκανηφόρου) ; apud Ovidium (*Met.* 2, 724 sq.) Herse decus pompae est virginibus omnibus praestantior. Itaque tam eximia venustate, tam sumptuoso habitu, tam denique digno incessu fuerunt virgines ad hoc munus captae ut has clarissimi sculptores repraesentare solerent. Cf. Cic. in *Verr.* 4, 5 : . . . erant aënea duo praeterea signa, non

maxima, verum eximia venustate, quae manibus sublatis sacra quaedam more Atheniensium virginum reposita in capitibus sustinebant; canephorī ipsae vocabantur; sed earum artificem quem? Quemnam? recte admones: Polyclitum esse dicebant. Scopam canephorī statuam fecisse testatur Plinius (*H. N.* 36, 5): *is fecit Venerem et Pothon . . . Vestam sedentem laudatam in Servilianis hortis duosque campteras circa eam quorum pares in Asini monumentis sunt, ubi et canephorus eiusdem . . .*

Postremo ad decreta publica venimus quae canephoris gratias referunt. Nam rebus divinis rite perpetratis, senatus populusque has virgines laudibus ornare solebant.¹ Exstant igitur nonnulli tituli honorarii:

CIA. 3, 921, Eleusini prope magna propylaea repertus:

Ἡ βουλὴ ὁ δῆμος κανηφορήσαντες Ἀσκληπίῳ ἐπὶ ἱ[ερείας] Ἀμεινοκλείας τῆς Φιλ[. . . θυγατρὸς].

CIG. 4362, Termessi Pisidiae:

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων Ἀρτέμειν Θόαντος Ἑρμαίου δις Κοττίους τοῦ καὶ Κρατέρου, κανηφόρον θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος, προ(βούλου) Ἡλιοδότου Ἀρτέμιον πεντάκις.

Tituli duo (*CIG.* 3602 et 3603, secundo vel tertio a. C. saeculo exarati) prope fontes Scamandri qui sunt ad vicum Bunarbashi reperti de honoribus canephororum apud Ilienses testantur. Cf. 3602:

[Ἱλιεῖς καὶ αἱ] πόλεις α[ἱ κ]ο[ιν]ω[νοῦ]σαι [τῆς θυ]σίας καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως Ἀγῶνασιν. Δημητρίου Ἱλιάδα, καλῶς καὶ ἐ[ν]δό[ξ]ως κανηφορήσαντες, [εὖς]εβείας ἔνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τὴν θεάν.

CIA. 2, 1388:

Ἡ [β]ουλὴ ὁ δῆμος [κ]ανηφορήσαντες [τ]ῷ Ἀπόλλωνι [τ]ὴν Πυθαῖδα. Ἡ [β]ο[υ]λὴ ὁ δῆ[μ]ος [κα]νηφορήσαντες [Π]αν[αθ]ήναια. . . .

¹ Quo modo hoc officium sit a mulieribus Atticis honori ductum ex vv. 638-647 *Lysistratae* supra p. 11 adhibitis conligi potest. Cf. etiam ἀτιμὴν τῆς κανηφορίας, Plat. *Hipparch.* 229 C. Adde quod titulus *CIA.* 2, 163 (Ditt. *Syll.* 380) docet canephoris portiones victimarum a sacrificulis dispartitas esse.

His decretis nonnullos titulos subicere licet qui ad donaria privata pertinent :

CIA. 2, 1387, qui, teste Koehlero, ad theatrum Dionysi repertus est :

[Ἄ]πολλωνίαν

[. . . Φι]λαῖδον θυγατέρα κανηφορήσ[ασαν] [Δὺ σωτήρια? ὁ] πατὴρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Ἀπολλω[νία] [Δὺ Σωτήρι καὶ Ἀθ]ηναίᾳ Σωτείρ[α ἀνέθη-
καν].

Titulus *CIG.* 2, 2298, Deli Atticae post annum 172 a. C. : pater Archelaus simulacrum Isidi dedicavit quod filia Dorothea canephorus Isidis fuit :

Ἀρχέλαος Διονυσίου Μαραθώνιος τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκεν ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων, κανηφορούσης Δωροθείας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς Ἰσιδι. . . .

Infra catalogus cultuum deorum adhibetur in quibus virgines officio canephorico fungebantur. Suus cuique locus gravissimus ex scriptoribus aut titulis Graecis haustus subicitur :

Aesculapius	<i>CIA.</i> 2, 1204 (3, 921, 916).
Apollo	<i>CIA.</i> 2, 1388.
Artemis	Theoc. <i>Id.</i> 2, 66–68 + schol.
Ceres	<i>CIA.</i> 3, 916.
Dionysus	Ar. <i>Acharn.</i> 242 + schol.
Hygea	<i>CIA.</i> 2, 1204.
Isis	<i>CIA.</i> 2, 1355 (3, 923).
Iuppiter Rex	Plutarch. <i>Amat. Narrat.</i> 771 E.
“ Soter	<i>CIA.</i> 2, 1387.
Minerva	<i>CIA.</i> 2, 1388 (vide gramm. s. v. κανηφόρος).
“ Sotera	<i>CIA.</i> 2, 1387.
Serapis	<i>CIA.</i> 3, 923.

II. DE VASIS QVAE Πομπεία DICVNTVR

Vasa et apparatus sacrificialis quae in pompis portabantur πομπεία vocata esse demonstrant nonnullae grammaticorum definitiones. Cf. Harpocratonem (I, p. 253, 8, Dindorf.): πομπεία δὲ λέγεται τὰ εἰς τὰς πομπὰς κατασκευαζόμενα σκεύη, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ῥήτωρ (Demosthenes) κατ' Ἀνδροτίωνος ὑποσημαίνει. Et Eustathius (ad *Il.* 5, 505, p. 576, 46) haec scribit: τὰ παρ' Ἀττικοῖς πομπεία, σκεύη ἐκεῖνα χρῆσιμα ἐν δημοσίαις πομπαῖς. Moeris autem (p. 332): πομπεία Ἀττικοὶ τὰ θυματήρια καὶ τὰς χέρνιβας, ὡς Θουκιδίδης. . . . Thucydides tamen verbo πομπεία nusquam utitur (quamquam verbum θυματήρια in libro 6, 46, χέρνιψ 4, 97 reperitur) sed haec utensilia, cum publicam Atheniensium pecuniam et gazas eorum sub bellum Peloponnesiacum in arce servatas numerat, ἱερὰ σκεύη περὶ τὰς πομπὰς appellat (2, 13).

Haec autem vasa Alcibiades a curatore postulavit et, venia impetrata, cottidiano usu polluebat. Cf. Plutarch. *Vit. Alcib.* 13, 2 (Bekkeri): φέρεται δὲ καὶ λόγος τις κατ' Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ Φαίλακος γεγραμμένος, ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γέγραπται καὶ ὅτι τῆς πόλεως πολλὰ πομπεία χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ κεκτημένης Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐχρητο πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἰδίους πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαταν. De quo plura etiam testatur Pseudo-Andocides (κατ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, 29):

Ἵνα δὲ μὴ μόνον Διομήδην ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ὑβρίζων ἐπιδείξειε, τὰ πομπεία παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιθεωρῶν αἰτησάμενος ὡς εἰς τὰ πινίκια τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῆς θυσίας χρησόμενος, ἐξηπάτησε καὶ ἀποδοῦναι οὐκ ᾔθελε, βουλόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πρότερος τῆς πόλεως χρῆσασθαι τοῖς χρυσοῖς χερνιβίοις καὶ θυματηρίοις. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν τῶν ξένων μὴ ἐγίνωσκον ἡμέτερα ὄντα, τὴν πομπὴν τὴν κοινὴν ὀρῶντες ὑστέραν οὖσαν τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῖς τούτου πομπείοις χρῆσθαι ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς. ὅσοι δὲ ἢ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἤκουον ἢ καὶ ἐπεγίνωσκον τὰ τούτου, κατεγέλων ἡμῶν, ὀρῶντες ἓνα ἄνδρα μείζον ἀπάσης τῆς πόλεως δυνάμενον.

Tituli quidam Attici vero nos docent curatores qui vasa pompalia sive facienda sive reficienda curarent nonnumquam creatos esse. Cf. *CIA.* I, 320:¹

τα[υ]τα ἐ[ξ]είλον [ταμίαι τῆς] θεοῦ Εὐφύλιτο[ς Κη]φισ[ιεύς] καὶ ἐ[ξ]υνάρχοντες [οἱ]ς Ἐπιγ[ένης] Λυσά[νδρου] Αἰγυλ[ιεύς] ἐγραμ[μάτενε]

¹ Quaestores sunt anni 420 a.C.

κα]ῖ παρ[έδο]σαν π[ομ]πείων ἐ[πιστάτα]ις Εὐκ[λ]εῖδῃ Ἀγκυλῆθε[ν], Ἀριστ[ο]κλεῖ ἐκ Κεραμέων καὶ ἑ[ν]αρχ[ο]υσι.

Philochorus autem memoriae tradit πομπεία ex bonis triginta tyrannorum Athenis facta esse. Cf. Harpocratonem (s. v. πομπεία) : πομπείοις δέ, φησὶ Φιλόχορος, πρότερον ἐχρῶντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῶν λ' κατασκευασθείσιν. ὁψὲ δέ, φησί, καὶ Ἀνδροτίων ἄλλα κατεσκεύασεν. Hic Androtio, teste Demosthene in oratione anno 355/4 habita, curator pompeis reficiendis fuit.¹ Cf. *Orat.* 22, 78 :

ἀλλ' Ἀνδροτίων ὑμῖν πομπείων ἐπισκευαστής, Ἀνδροτίων, ὦ γῇ καὶ θεοί. καὶ τοῦτ' ἀσέβημ' ἔλαττον τίνος ἡγείσθε; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶομαι δεῖν τὸν εἰς ἱέρ' εἰσιόντα καὶ χερνίβων καὶ κανῶν ἀψόμενον καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιμελείας προστάτην ἐσόμενον οὐχὶ προειρημένων ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἀγνεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον ἡγνευκέναι τοιούτων ἐπιτηδευμάτων οἷα τούτῳ βεβίωται.

Cf. etiam *Orat.* 24, 8 :

ἰδὼν δ' ἡδίκηκότα κοινῇ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τὴν εἰσπραξίν τῶν εἰσφορῶν καὶ περὶ τὴν ποίησιν τῶν πομπείων. . . .

Cuius ad administrationem tituli mutili fragmentum (*CIA.* Suppl. 4, 74b) spectat :

. . . [ἐψηφίσθαι τῇ βουλῇ τ]οὺς ταμίας τοὺς νέ[ους] . . . χρήμα]τα τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκρο[πόλει] . . . ταμιῶν]· ὅπως δ' ἂν ὡς δικα[ιότατα] . . . τό τε ἄγα]λμα καὶ τὰ πομπε[ῖα] . . . τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐ]ν τῇ ἀκροπόλε[ι] . . . ἀπὸ Καλλέ]ου ἀρχοντος ἀνα[γραφέντα] . . . παρα]δοῦναι δὲ τοῦ[ς] ταμίας . . . ι]ς τὰ μὲμ πομπεῖ[α] . . . κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ὃ Ἀ]νδροτίων εἰ[πε]. . . .²

Post vero aetatem Androtionis Lycurgus orator vasa pompalia denuo fecisse videtur. Sic enim Plutarchus refert (*Mor.* 852 B) :

ἔτι δὲ αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χρήματα πολλὰ συνήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ παρασκευάσας τῇ θεῷ κόσμον Νίκας τε ὀλοχρύσους πομπεία τε χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ κόσμον εἰς ἑκατὸν κατηφόρους.

¹ Titulus Boeotius (*CIG.* 1570, b, 3) primo a.C. saeculo exaratus docet cum phialae et donaria sacra labem traxissent decretum esse a Boeotiis ut triumviri vasis reficiendis crearentur.

² Post annum 377 a.C.

Quod ad formam ac naturam pompeorum attinet, haec fere omnia ut supra apparet utensilia sacra quibus sacerdotes in hostiis immolandis utebantur fuerunt. Quae nunc in ordine numerare licet :

1. Χερνιβείον.
2. Θυματήριον.
3. Κανοῦν.
4. Στεφάνη vel Στέφανος.
5. Κόσμος καηφορικός.

1. Χερνιβείον : Vasculum quod aquam lustralem (χέρνιβα) continuit χερνιβείον dicebatur. Hoc vero inter pompea nominandum esse ex loco Pseudo-Andocidis supra p. 20 adiecto elucet. Cuius etiam mentionem facit Aristophanes (*Av.* 850) :

παῖ, παῖ, τὸ κανοῦν αἵρεσθε καὶ τὴν χέρνιβα.

Quocum conferas corruptum Antiphanis fragmentum :¹

τὸ χερνιβείον πρῶτον ἐκ πομπῆς ἄφες.

(ἡ πομπὴ σαφὲς coniecit nescio quis). Huc etiam illud de pompis Osiridis apud Plutarchum servatum spectare videtur (*Mor.* 365 B) : οὐ μόνον δὲ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὑγρὸν ἀπλῶς Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροὴν καλοῦσι· καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν αἰεὶ προπομπεύει τὸ ὑδρεῖον ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ θεοῦ.

2. Θυματήριον : De turibuli usu inter pompea cf. testimonium Pseudo-Andocidis supra p. 20 laudatum.

3. Κανοῦν² : Imprimis autem inter pompea κανοῦν nominandum est. Fuit enim canistrum latum atque patulum, breve, quo veteres ad vasa sacra sustinenda utebantur. Hoc vocabulum apud Homerum quater deciens invenitur ubi duodeciens lancem quae cibum capit, bis tantum (γ 442 et δ 761) canistrum sacrum quod molam salsam continet significat. Apud comicos, tragicos, et alios scriptores ad res divinas

¹ Ex *Busiride* (frag. 66), de quo Kock, *Com. Att.* II, p. 38 : *per ironiam haec aliquis dicere videtur homines quosdam, praelata urna, incendentes conspicatus.*

² Hoc scholiasta ad *Ar. Lysist.* 646 λοιπάδα vocat : κἀκαηφόρουν . . . ἐφόρουν δὲ καὶ λοιπάδας ὀλοχρόσους. Cf. *λικνον* (mystica vannus Iacchi, *Verg. Georg.* I, 166) quod in pompis Bacchi a licnophoris portabatur et vasa sacrificalia et primitias capiebat; Callimachus in *Cerere* 126 :

ὥς δ' αἱ λικνοφόροι χρυσῷ πλέα λίκνα φέροντι.

semper pertinet. Duobus apud Homerum locis vocabulo κανῶ epitheton additur quod ex quo hoc vas factum sit indicet: χάλκειον, Λ 630, χρύσειον, κ 355. Ter etiam καλόν (I 217, Ω 626, υ 255), semel περικαλλές (ρ 343) designatur.

Initio haec canistra ex cannis viebantur: Ebelingius (*Hom. Lex.* s. v.) κανοῦν a κάννα deducit,¹ quo etiam spectat testimonium Pollucis (7, 76): καὶ τὸ κανοῦν δὲ πλέγμα τι, καὶ τὸ κανίσκιον, quocum congruit fragmentum ex *Geryiade* Aristophanis:²

πλεκτῶ κανίσκῳ ἄρτων περίλοιπα θρύμματα.

Deinde vero, sicut ab Homero accepimus, haec canistra ex auro facta sunt. Cf. Suidam (s. v. κανοῦν): παρὰ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτὴν Ἀθήνησιν αἱ εὐγενεῖδες ἐκατηφόρου. ἦν δὲ ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα τὰ κανᾶ. Lycurgus autem hunc morem secutus pompea ex auro atque argento fecit (vide supra p. 21). Accedit quod nonnulli tituli qui rationes curatorum utensilium sacrorum exhibent de canistris ex metallis factis testantur:

CIG. 1570, b, 3: Δύσανδρος κανοῦν, ὀλκὴ ΗΨΔΔΔΕΕΕ.

CIG. 2855, 21: κανοῦν φυλῆς τῆς Ἀσωπίδος? ὀλκὴν ἄγον Ἀλεξάνδρειας πεντακοσίας.

Huius sacri involucra quo modo vocentur docet Hesychius (s. v. ἱστριανίδες): αἱ Σκυθικαὶ στολαί. καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις σκεπάσματα οἷς ἐκάλυπτον τὰ ἱερὰ κανᾶ. Cui addere licet haec ex Polluce (10, 191) hausta: εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν, ἔστι μὲν ὑφάσματα, καλεῖται δὲ ἱστριανόν, προτόνιον, ἡμίμιτρον. Huc etiam spectat titulus Atticus (CIG. 155, 32) ex arce qui donaria Dianae enumerat:

Ξενοφάντη, χιτωνίσκον ἐξ[έ]στω[ν] κτενωτόν· οὗτος ἐπὶ τῷ κανῶ, i. e. canistrum sacrum quod in templo est, vestimento illo tegitur.

Haec in canistra imponebantur ea quae ad sacra facienda pertinerunt. Cf. Harpocratem (s. v. κατηφόρος): . . . φέρειν τὰ κανᾶ τῇ θεῇ ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέκειτο τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν τοῖς τε Παναθηναίοις καὶ

¹ Voc. κανοῦν grammatici quidam a κτεῖνον, καινόν, καινεῖν, vel χαλνεῖν insipienter derivant.

² Kock, *Com. Att.* I, p. 431, Frag. 160.

ταῖς ἄλλαις πομπαῖς. Illa autem molam salsam, cultellos, vittas, et primitias fuisse ab auctoribus antiquis discimus. Cf. Ar. Pac. 948 :

τὸ κανοῦν πάρεστ' ὀλὰς ἔχον καὶ στέμμα καὶ μάχαιραν,
καὶ πῦρ γε τουτί.

Et schol. ad loc. : ὀλὰς· ὅτι ἐκέκρυπτο ἐν τῷ κανῷ ἡ μάχαιρα ταῖς ὀλαῖς καὶ τοῖς στέμμασι. Haec quoque Suidas : ἦν δὲ ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα τὰ κανᾶ, ἐφ' ὧν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς πάντων ἐτίθεσαν.

4. Στεφάνη vel Στέφανος : Pompeutas coronas vel ex floribus nexas vel auro factas in pompis gerere solitos esse ex testimoniis scriptorum veterum atque picturis vasorum satis inter omnes constat. Cf. id quod Pausanias de pompa Cereris Chthoniae apud Hermionienses ducta narrat (2, 35, 5) :

τοῖς δὲ καὶ παισὶν ἔτι οὖσι καθέστηκεν ἤδη τὴν θεὸν τιμᾶν τῇ πομπῇ· οὗτοι λευκὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχουσι στεφάνους. πλέκονται δὲ οἱ στέφανοί σφισιν ἐκ τοῦ ἄνθους οἱ καλοῦσιν οἱ ταύτῃ κοσμοσάνδαλον, ὑάκινθον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα καὶ μεγέθει καὶ χροῇ· ἔπεστι δὲ οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ θρήνῳ γράμματα.

Sed apud Thebanos mos fuit ut daphnephorus coronam auream haberet. Cf. Proclum (ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 321, Bekkeri) : οὗτος δὲ ὁ δαφνηφόρος . . . τὰς μὲν κόμας καθειμένος, χρυσοῦν στέφανον φέρων. Athenaeus autem coronam immanem quae in pompa Alexandrina portata est describit (202 D) :

στέφανοί δὲ χρυσοὶ ἐπόμπευσαν τρισχῆλιοι διακόσιοι, ἕτερός τε μυστικὸς χρυσοῖς λίθοις πολυτελεῖσι κεκοσμημένος ὀγδοηκοντάπηχυς . . . ἐπόμπευσαν δὲ καὶ στεφάναι χρυσαὶ πᾶν πολλάι, ἃς ἔφερον παιδίσκαι πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημέναι· ὧν μία δίπηχυς εἰς ὕψος, τὴν δὲ περίμετρον ἔχουσα ἐκκαίδεκα πήχεων.

5. Κόσμος κανηφορικός : Mundum canephoricum in capitulo qui *De Canephoris* inscribitur (p. 14 sqq.) tractavimus.

Haec sacra omnia in donariis deorum, ut loci supra laudati demonstrant, custodiebantur. Fuit etiam Athenis iuxta Dipylum aedificium quoddam cui, cum apparatus pompalis intus servarentur, nomen Πομπεῖον inditum est (Paus. 1, 2, 4) : εἰσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδόμημα

ἐς παρασκευὴν τῶν πομπῶν, ἃς πέμπουσι τὰς μὲν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τὰς δὲ καὶ χρόνον διαλείποντες. Hoc vero aedificium, cum nonnulli docti id iam satis plene tractaverint,¹ nobis hoc loco praetermittendum est.

III. DE PROSODIIS

Prosodia sunt carmina quae in supplicationibus et pompis deorum ad tibias cantabantur. Cf. *E. M.* 690 :

προσώδιον·² λιτανεία μετὰ ὕμνων· παρὰ τὸ προσιέναι μετὰ τούτου τοῖς θεοῖς . . . καὶ προσώδια μὲν τὰ λεγόμενα ἄσματα εἰσφερομένων εἰς τὸν βωμὸν τῶν ἱερείων· παρὰ τὸ προσιόντων εἰς τὸν βωμὸν τῶν θυμάτων ταῦτα λέγειν. Suidas autem eadem fere tradit: προσόδια· ἀπὸ τῶν προσόδων. οὕτω δὲ ἔλεγον τὰς προσαγομένας τοῖς θεοῖς πομπάς. καὶ προσόδια τὰ εἰς πανηγύρεις θεῶν ποιήματα παρὰ τῶν λυρικῶν λεγόμενα. Ibidem: προσόδια· ὕμνοι. Proclus vero monuit (apud Phot. p. 320 a, Bekkeri) haec carmina inter paeanes a nonnullis grammaticis perperam nominata esse :

ἐλέγετο δὲ τὸ προσόδιον, ἐπειδὴν προσίᾳσι τοῖς βωμοῖς ἢ ναοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ προσιέναι ἦδετο πρὸς αὐλάν. ὁ δὲ κυρίως ὕμνος πρὸς κιθάραν ἦδετο ἐστῶτων . . . καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ προσοδιά τινες παιᾶνες λέγουσιν.

Cum apud Aristophanem (*Av.* 848 sqq.) sacerdos iussu Pisthetaeri pompam transmittit, prosodium ad tibiam cantat :

τὸν ἱερέα πέμψοντα τὴν πομπὴν καλῶ.
παῖ, παῖ, τὸ κανοῦν αἵρεσθε καὶ τὴν χέρνιβα.

IEP. ὁμορροθῶ, συνθέλω,
συμπαραίνεσας ἔχω προσ-
όδια μεγάλα
σεμνὰ προσιέναι θεοῖσιν·

¹ Testimonia antiqua hodiernaque ad Pompeum pertinentia ab Hitzigio Blümnero-que in unum conlecta sunt (*Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio*, I, p. 129).

² De scriptura προσώδιον Marckscheffeliuss (*Hesiodi, Eumeli, et cet. Fragg.* pp. 243-4) monuit antiquam et veram formam προσόδιον fuisse, et grammaticos seniores ab ἔδειν verbo vocabulum derivasse quod ab ὁδός esset deducendum. Voc. προσώδια carmen quod ad lyram cantatur tantum significat, et pro προσόδιον numquam usurpari videtur.

ἄμα δὲ προσέτι χάριτος ἔνεκα
 προβάτιόν τι θύειν.
 ἴτω, ἴτω, ἴτω δὲ Πυθιάς βοά·
 συναδέτω δὲ Χαίρις ῥῳδάν.

ΠΕΙ. παῦσαι σὺ φύσων. Ἡράκλεις, τουτὶ τί ἦν;
 τουτὶ μὰ Δί' ἐγὼ πολλὰ δὴ καὶ δειν' ἰδών,
 οὐπω κόρακ' εἶδον ἐμπεφορβιωμένον.

Vbi, ut videtur, comoedus quidam corvum imitatus tibicinis officio fungitur.

Ad prosodia etiam carmina illa quae παρθένια vocantur revocanda sunt. Haec satis constat a virginum choris in sollemnibus cantata esse et maxima in parte ad cultum Apollinis pertinuisse.¹ Speciem autem partheniorum, ut ex Proclo (ap. Phot. p. 321, Bekkeri) apparet, carmina daphnephorica constituunt. Sic enim Proclus testatur:

τὰ δὲ λεγόμενα παρθένια χοροῖς παρθένων ἐνεγράφετο. οἷς καὶ τὰ δαφνηφορικὰ ὡς εἰς γένος πίπτει. δάφνας γὰρ ἐν Βουωτιά δι' ἐνναετηρίδος εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος κομίζοντες οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐξύμνον αὐτὸν διὰ χοροῦ παρθένων. Modulos partheniorum ἀποστολικούς appellatos esse et cum gestibus orchesticis cantatos esse refert Athenaeus (631 D): βέλτιστοι δὲ εἰσι τῶν τρόπων οὔτινες καὶ ὀρχοῦνται. εἰσὶ δὲ οἷδε· προσοδιακοί, ἀποστολικοί (οὗτοι δὲ καὶ παρθένιοι καλοῦνται), καὶ οἱ τούτοις ὅμοιοι. Quocum cohaerit testimonium Xenophontis (*Exped. Cyri*, 6, 1, 11): ἦεσάν τε ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον ῥυθμὸν αὐλούμενοι καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς προσόδοις.²

Nunc si quis vero de huiusmodi carminum scriptoribus quaerat, ex certis exemplis comperiat nobilissimos Graeciae poetas prosodia et

¹ Vide tabulam prosodiorum p. 30.

² Sunt etiam alia prosodia quae non tantopere ad res divinas pertinent, ex quibus enumerare licet κώμους, ὕμεναλους, et μέλη ἐμβατήρια. De usu comi cf. Hesiodi *Scutum*, v. 281:

ἐνθεν δ' αἰθ' ἐτέρωθε νέοι κώμαζον ὑπ' αὐλοῦ.

et Theognidis vers. 1065:

ἔστι δὲ κωμάζοντα μετ' αὐλητῆρος ἀείδειν.

Quod ad hymenaeum attinet carmen, exemplum apud Aristophanem servatum est (*Pac.* vv. 1333-1357). Carminis embaterii a Tyrtaeo scripti fragmentum ad nos permansit. Cf. Bergkium, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* II, frag. Tyrt. 15.

parthenia componere solitos esse. Quam ob rem, quia nomina horum poetarum a nullo adhuc, quantum nos equidem scimus, in unum conlecta sunt, haec proprio in ordine una cum fragmentis prosodiorum quae supersunt infra adiecimus.

1. Eumelus Corinthius

Eumelus Corinthius, qui saeculo septimo a. C. aetatem degisse videtur,¹ prosodium Messeniis, Phinta Sybotae filio regnante, scripsit quod Delo cantatum est. Cf. Pausaniam, 4, 4, 1: ἐπὶ δὲ Φίντα τοῦ Συβότα πρῶτον Μεσσήνιοι τότε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δῆλον θυσίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν χορὸν ἀποστέλλουσι. τὸ δὲ σφισιν ᾄσμα προσόδιον ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐδίδαξεν Εὐμήλος, εἶναι τε ὡς ἀληθῶς Εὐμήλου νομίζεται μόνα τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα. Ex hoc carmine duos versus alio loco servat Pausanias (4, 33, 2): ἐποίησε (Eumelus) γοῦν καὶ τάδε ἐν τῷ προσοδίῳ τῷ ἐς Δῆλον:

τῷ γὰρ Ἰθάματα καταθύμιος ἔπλετο μοῖσα
ἀ καθαρὰ καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχουσα.

2. Alcman

A Plutarcho Alcmanem prosodia et parthenia composuisse discimus. Cf. *Moral.* 1136 F: οὐκ ἡγνόμε (Πλάτων) δ' ὅτι πολλὰ Δῶρια παρθένια ᾄμα Ἀλκμᾶνι καὶ Πινδάρῳ καὶ Σιμωνίδῃ καὶ Βακχυλίδῃ πεποιήται, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὅτι προσόδια καὶ παιᾶνες. . . . Horum carminum quae supersunt fragmenta in libris Bergki qui *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* inscribuntur disposita sunt. Vide Vol. III, fragg. *Alcmanis* 1, 7, 16, 23, 29, 66.²

3. Simonides Ceus

Simonidem prosodia scripsisse ex loco Plutarchi supra adiecto satis constat, sed nulla huius carminum generis fragmenta ad nos permanserunt.

4. Bacchylides

Hic quoque poeta, ut ex Plutarchi loco et aliunde apparet, prosodia et parthenia composuit. Ex his vero tria omnino fragmenta supersunt

¹ Christi *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, 2d ed., p. 90.

² Haec fragmenta vir Anglicus Farnellius in prosodia scite rettulit. (Cf. *Greek Lyric Poetry*, pp. 308-313.)

quae Bergkii in libris suis edidit (Vol. III, sub *Bacchylidem*, fragg. 19, 20, 21). Apud Kenyonem (in edit. prin. *Bacchylidis*, 1898) numeri sunt 48, 49, 50.

5. *Pindarus*

Cum multi docti de prosodiis a Pindaro scriptis fusius disputaverint (imprimis Boeckhii, *Pind.* Vol. II, pp. 586 sqq.), hoc loco summam rei tantum attigere satis erit.

(a) *Prosodia*. Primum vero Suidam testem adhibemus qui dicit: *ἔγραψε* (sc. Πίνδαρος) δὲ ἐν βιβλίοις ιζ' ταῦτα . . . (alia carminum genera omittimus) . . . προσόδια, παρθένια, . . . δαφνηφορικά. Deinde a Pindari *Vita* in codice Vratisl. A servata discimus haec prosodia a veteribus in duos libros conlecta esse: *ἔγραψε δὲ βιβλία ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα . . . προσοδίων β'*. Horum prosodiorum tria fragmenta a scriptoribus antiquis servata sunt:

1. Prosodium Deliacum (Bergki fragg. 87–88, Boeckhi 1).

2. Prosodii fragmentum (Bergki 89, Boeckhi 2) quod interpretes Ar. *Eq.* v. 1263 laudat: τοῦτο ἀρχὴ προσοδίου Πινδάρου, ἔχει δὲ οὕτως·

τί κάλλιον ἀρχομένοισι ἢ καταπανομένοισιν
ἢ βαθύζωνόν τε Λατὼ καὶ θεῶν ἵππων ἐλάτειραν δαΐσαι;

Hoc Schneiderus, probante Boeckhio, ad carmen Aeginensibus a Pindaro scriptum quo salutarent Aphaeam rettulit. Cf. Paus. 2, 30, 3: ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Πανελληνίου Διὸς ἰοῦσιν ἔστιν Ἀφαίας ἱερόν, ἐς ἣν καὶ Πίνδαρος ᾄσμα Αἰγινήταις ἐποίησε.

3. Carminis fragmentum apud Aristidem (2, 510) servatum quod esse prosodium Delphicum adfirmat Boeckhii (Bergki frag. 90, Boeckhi 3).

(b) *Parthenia*. De his carminibus cf. *Vitam Pindari* in codice Vratisl. A: φέρεται δὲ καὶ παρθενίων β' καὶ γ' ὁ ἐπιγράφει κεχωρισμένων παρθενίων. Conclisit igitur Boeckhii tres fuisse partheniorum libros simul daphnephorica complexos quorum tertium τὰ κεχωρισμένα τῶν παρθενίων a ceteris separata continuisse (i. e. ea carmina quae ex partheniis eicienda videbantur). Fragmenta partheniorum a Pindaro scriptorum sunt haec:

Frag. 1 (103)¹: de hoc mentio tantum apud scholiastam ad Ar. *Acharn.* 726 fit.

Frag. 2-6, 7? (95-99, 100?): in Pana scripta esse videntur.

Frag. 8 (104): in separatis partheniis reperitur, quod vero ad Apollinem et Dianam magna cum probabilitate referri potest.

Frag. 9 (101-2): de his versibus nihil pro certo adfirmari potest, quos Boeckhius ad daphnephorica pertinere existimat, sed Christius eos in hymnis conlocandos esse arbitratur.

6. Pronomus Thebanus

Pronomus Thebanus qui quinto a. C. saeculo tibicen et aulodicorum nomorum poeta fuit,² prosodium quo Chalcidenses Delo deum salutarum composuit. De quo Pausanias haec tradit (9, 12, 5-6):

Πρόνομος δὲ ἦν ὃς πρῶτος ἐπενόησεν αὐλοὺς εἰς ἅπαν ἀρμονίας εἶδος ἔχοντας ἐπιτηδεύς, πρῶτος δὲ διάφορα εἰς τοσοῦτο μέλη ὑπ' αὐλοῖς ἤλυσεν τοῖς αὐτοῖς. λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς κινήσει σώματος περισσῶς δὴ τι ἔτερπέ τὰ θέατρα· καὶ οἱ καὶ ῥῆμα πεποιημένον ἐστὶ προσόδιον εἰς Δῆλον τοῖς ἐπ' Εὐρύπῳ Χαλκιδεῦσι.

7. Alii Prosodiorum Poetae

Haud dubium est quin multi huius carminum generis poetae quorum quia spiritu divino minus inflati sunt nulla mentio apud scriptores veteres exstat, prosodia alii aliis in urbibus composuerint. Horum in numero nos Eumaronem habemus quem titulus Boeotius (= Thespiensis) docet poetam prosodiorum fuisse (*CIG.* 1585):

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ

ἐνείκων ἐπὶ Φλαυνίῳ Πανλείνῳ ἀγωνοθετοῦντι Μουσῶν ἐ[π'] ἀρχοντι Μητροδώρῳ τῷ Ὀν[η]σιφόρου ποιητῆς προσοδίου Εὐμάρων Ἀλεξάνδρου Θεσπιεύς καὶ Ἀντιφῶν Ἀθηναῖος κῆρυξ. . . .

Res ipsa demonstrat titulum ad Thespiensem Musarum cultum spectare, et ex litterarum formis iudicamus hoc decretum primo p. C. saeculo exaratum esse.

¹ Numeri priores sunt Boeckhi, posteriores sunt editionis quartae Bergkianae.

² Cf. Paus. 4, 27, 7; Athenaeus (4, 184 D) scribit Alcibiadem a Pronomo αὐλητικὴν didicisse.

Nunc subiungere licet prosodiorum tabulam quae cultus deorum exhibet et urbes ubi haec carmina cantata sunt. Quos in deos Simonides et Bacchylides prosodia scripserint ex eorum fragmentis quae supersunt diiudicari non potest.

Prosodiorum Tabula

DEUS VEL DEA	URBS	POETA	FRAGG. ¹
Aphaea	Aegina	Pindarus	89
Apollo	Delos	Eumelus	Paus. 4, 33, 2
"	"	Pindarus	87-88
"	"	Pronomus	...
"	Delphi	Pindarus	90
"	Thebae	"	101-2
Diana	Sparta	Alcman	23
"	Thebae	Pindarus	104
Iuppiter	Sparta	Alcman	29
Iuno	"	"	16
Musae	Thespieae	Eumaron	...
Pan	Thebae	Pindarus	95-99, 100?
?	Ceos?	Simonides	...
?	?	Bacchylides	19-21

Postremo de modulis ac metris prosodiorum pauca habemus quae dicamus. Moduli Dorii sunt. Cf. Plutarchum (*De Musica* = *Moral.* 1136 F):

οὐκ ἡγνόμε (Πλάτων) δ' ὅτι πολλὰ Δώρεια παρθένια ἅμα Ἀλκμᾶνι καὶ Πινδάρῳ καὶ Σιμωνίδῃ καὶ Βακχυλίδῃ πεποιήται, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὅτι προσόδια καὶ παιᾶνες, καὶ μέντοι ὅτι καὶ τραγικοὶ οἰκτοὶ ποτε ἐπὶ τοῦ Δωρίου τρόπου ἐμελωδῆθησαν.

Huc quadrant prosodiorum reliquiae quae in dialecto Dorica plerumque scriptae sunt. Quod ad metra horum carminum attinet, quoniam vir doctissimus Christius in libro suo qui *Metrik der Griechen und Römer* inscribitur de metro prosodiaco uberius disputavit,² non necesse est ut multa proferamus. In universum tamen hanc rationem in versibus

¹ Numeri sunt editionis quartae Bergkianae.

² Vide pp. 213-217, 673, 638.

componendis poetae prosodiorum consecuti sunt: Eumelus qui hoc carminum genus primus attigisse videtur, hexametro usus est¹; ceteri metris dactylicis aut iambicis usi sunt, sed iambis dactylos cyclicos inserere et metrum sive dactylicum sive iambicum anacrusi quo pedes citius properarent augere solebant.

Quo modo a prosodiis introitus chororum scaenicorum qui *πάροδοι* vocantur deducti sint, quaestio alia est. Cf. Christum, *Griechische Litteraturgeschichte*, (2d ed.) p. 125.

IV. DE ORDINE POMPEVTARVM

Iam proponitur quaestio quam in agminibus pompeutarum ordinandis rationem Graeci secuti sint. Nam etsi pauca admodum de hac re apud scriptores veteres reperiuntur, ex his tamen satis plane apparet suum cuique locum pompeutis vel consuetudine sacra vel honoris causa vel etiam sorte adsignatum esse. Sed huiusmodi quae conlegimus testimonia tantum inter se dissident ut nos haudquaquam adfirmare possimus pompeutas eodem omnibus in pompis modo dispositos esse. Qua in quaestione nobis licet primum locos ex scriptoribus antiquis et monumenta testes adhibere, deinde eis examinatis leges investigare quas Graeci in ordine pompeutarum statuendo observare solebant.

(a) Vas pictum vetustioris artis in Museo Brittanico servatum de quo supra (pp. 7-8) plura diximus hunc ordinem exhibet:

1. Canephorus.
2. Hostia quam quidam agunt.
3. Tibicen.
4. Pompeuta.
5. Pompeuta qui *χερνιβέων* fert.
6. Pompeutae duo.
7. Vehiculum.
8. Pompeuta ((*ῥαβδοφόρος*?).

(b) Decretum illud de Andaniorum mysteriis² quo modo pompeutae in pompa Cereris et Proserpinae se exceperint demonstrat:

¹ Vide fragmentum p. 27.

² Ditt. *Syll.* 388: ἐν δὲ τῇ πομπῇ ἀγέστω Μναίστρατος, ἔπειτα ὁ ἱερεὺς τῶν θεῶν οἷς τὰ μυστήρια γίνεται μετὰ τὰς ἱερέας, ἔπειτα ἀγνωστέας, ἱεροθύται, οἱ αὐλῆ-

1. Magistratus.
2. Sacerdos (ιερεύς) deorum.
Sacerdos (ιέρεια).
3. Agonotheta.
4. Sacrificuli.
5. Tibicines.
6. Virgines sanctae quae currus trahunt.
7. Epularum dominae.
8. Eae quae epularum dominam adiuvant.
9. Sacerdos (ιέρεια) Cereris iuxta hippodromum
10. Sacerdos (ιέρεια) Cereris in Aegila.
11. Feminae sanctae.
12. Viri sancti.
13. Hostiae.

(c) Pompa Cereris Chthoniae: Hermionae. Hermionienses cum pompam Cereris Chthoniae transmitterent hunc ordinem servare solitos esse a Pausania docemur:¹

1. Sacerdos deorum.
2. Ei qui annuos magistratus gerunt.
3. Feminae et viri.
4. Pueri.
5. Ei qui bovem agunt.

(d) Pompa Apollinis Ismenii et Grandinantis: Thebis. Ordo pompeutarum fuit:²

ταί· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἱ παρθένοι αἱ ιεραὶ . . . ἄγουσαι τὰ ἄρματα ἐπικειμένα(ς) κίστας ἐχούσας ιερὰ μυστικά. εἶπεν ἃ θοιναρμόστρια ἃ εἰς Δάματρος καὶ αἱ ὑποθιναρμόστρια αἱ ἐμβεβακύναι, εἶπεν ἃ ιέρεια τὰς Δάματρος τὰς ἐφ' ἱπποδρόμῳ, εἶπεν ἃ τὰς ἐν Ἀγίλῳ· ἔπειτεν αἱ ιεραὶ κατὰ μίαν . . . ἔπειτεν οἱ ιεροὶ . . . ἀγέσθω δὲ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς καὶ τὰ θύματα . . . σὺν ἐπίτοκα, κριόν, δάμαλιν σὺν, κάπρον, οἶν. . . .

¹ Paus. 2, 35, 5 sq.: ἄγουσι δὲ οὕτως· ἡγούονται μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς πομπῆς οἱ τε ιερεῖς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὅσοι τὰς ἐπετελοῦς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν, ἔπονται δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες. τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ἔτι οὐσι καθέστηκεν ἥδη τὴν θεὸν τιμᾶν τῇ πομπῇ· . . . τοῖς δὲ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπουσιν ἔπονται τελείαν ἐξ ἀγέλης βοῦν ἄγοντες διειλημμένην δεσμοῖς τε καὶ ὕβριζουσιν ἔτι ὑπὸ ἀγριότητος.

² Proclus (apud Phot. *Bibl.* p. 321, Bekkeri): ἀρχεῖ δὲ τῆς Δαφνηφορίας παῖς ἀμφιβαλῆς, καὶ ὁ μάλιστα αὐτῷ οἰκεῖος βαστάζει τὸ κατεστεμμένον ξυλὸν ὃ κωπῶ καλοῦσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ δαφνηφόρος ἐπόμενος τῆς δάφνης ἐφάπτεται . . . ὃ χορὸς παρ-

1. Puer (patrimus et matrimus).
2. Puer qui *κωπώ* portat.
3. Daphnephorus.
4. Chorus virginum.

(e) Pompa signorum Dionysi quam Sicyonii ex Cosmeterio in templum quotannis ducebant :¹

1. Simulacrum quod Baccheus nominatur.
2. Simulacrum quod Lysius nominatur.
3. Sicyonii qui faces accensas ferunt, et patrios hymnos (prosodia) cantant.

(f) Pompa Dianae : Patris. Hac de pompa Pausanias nos certiores facit virginem quae sacerdotio fungeretur post agmen pompeutarum biuugo cervorum curru vexisse.²

His locis inter se conlatis, etsi concludendum est Graecos pompas alias alio modo ordinare solitos esse, tamen nonnullae de hac re leges sunt quas nos statuere possumus.

Primum vero neminem fugit quosdam quibus hic honor obtigit agmen pompeutarum duxisse. Quod non solum ex vocabulis *προπομπία* et *προπομπεύω* apparet sed etiam ex testimonio Lysiae oratoris qui de Minervae pompa apud Athenienses haec nobis tradit (*c. Agoratum*, 80-81) : *ἐπειδὴ δὲ αἱ διαλλαγὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγένοντο καὶ ἔπεμψαν οἱ πολῖται ἐκ Πειραιῶς τὴν πομπὴν εἰς πόλιν, ἡγήετο μὲν Αἴσιμος τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ . . .* tum Aesimum, simul atque Agoratum inter pompeutas conspexisset, eum ex agmine pepulisse : *οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν ἀνδροφόνων αὐτὸν ὄντα συμπέμπειν τὴν πομπὴν τῇ Ἀθηνῇ.*

Primus in pompis locus summi honoris fuisse videtur. Hic magistratibus summis et sacerdotibus plerumque adsignatus est ;

θένων ἐπακολουθεῖ προτείνων κλῶνας πρὸς ἱκετηρίαν τῶν ὕμνων. παρέπεμπον δὲ τὴν δαφνηφορίαν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος Ἰσμηνίου καὶ Χαλαζίου.

¹ Paus. 2, 7, 5-6 : *ἀλλὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν ἀπορρήτῃ Συκωνίοις ἐστί· ταῦτα μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ Διονύσιον ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου Κοσμητηρίου κομίζουσι, κομίζουσι δὲ μετὰ δάδων τε ἡμμένων καὶ ὕμνων ἐπιχωρίων. ἡγείται μὲν οὖν ὁ Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσιν . . . ἔπεται δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Δύσιος. . .*

² Paus. 7, 18, 12 : *πρῶτα μὲν δὴ πομπὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην τῇ Ἀρτέμει πομπέουσι, καὶ ἡ ἱερωμένη παρθένος ὀχεῖται τελευταία τῆς πομπῆς ἐπὶ ἐλάφῳ ὑπὸ τὸ ἄρμα ἐξενυγμένων.*

cf. titulum Andaniorum supra laudatum: ἐν δὲ τῇ πομπῇ ἀγείστω Μνασίστρατος (summus Andaniorum magistratus), ἔπειτεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῶν θεῶν οἷς τὰ μυστήρια γίνεται μετὰ τὰς ἱερέας. Idem fere in pompa Hermionia invenimus (Paus. 2, 35, 5): ἡγούνται μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς πομπῆς οἱ τε ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὅσοι τὰς ἐπετείλους ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν. . . . Sed notandum est summum in pompis locum post agmen pompeutarum nonnumquam fuisse. Cf. locum Pausaniae iam laudatum.

Si vero neque magistratus neque sacerdotes locum honorarium habentes prae ceteris pompeutis incesserunt, hunc canephoris vel ei qui sacra quaedam portabant accepisse videntur. Cf. pompam Thebanam (p. 32): ἀρχεὶ δὲ παῖς ἀμφιθαλής, καὶ ὁ μάλιστα αὐτῷ οἰκέιος βαστάζει τὸ κατεστημένον ξυλὸν ὃ κωπῶ καλοῦσιν. De canephoris autem plura reperimus. Nam in pompa sacrificali quam vas nigris figuris exornatum ostendit,¹ canephorus primum locum habet et eam ceteri pompeutae qui pompea quaedam portant et hostiam ad aram agunt sequuntur. In pompa phallica etiam apud Aristophanem (*Acharn.* 242 sqq.) non vir qui phallum fert sed canephorus partem ducis agit:

πρόθ' ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ὀλίγον ἢ κανηφόρος.

Simili modo cum ab eodem poeta pompa comica utensilium domesticorum inducitur (*Ecol.* 730 sqq., vide p. 16), ex his cribrum farinarium quod ut munere canephorico fungatur arcessitum est, primum in scaenam prodit.

Inde quaestio oritur quinam ceteros pompeutas in ordinem disposerint. Hac de re quamquam auctores antiqui nobis pauca tradiderunt, tamen hoc munus eis curatoribus qui ἐπιμεληταὶ dicuntur obtigisse ex decreto Andaniorum conligi potest. Cf. v. 34: ἔπειτεν οἱ ἱεροὶ καθὼς οἱ δέκα (sc. ἐπιμεληταὶ) διατάζονται.

Sed inter pares, ne ulla invidia quempiam propter praestantiorum in pompeutarum ordine locum attingeret, res ad sortem revocabatur. Pausanias enim narrat (9, 3, 5-7) omnes Boeotios — Plataeenses, Coroneos, Thespienses, Tanagraeos, Chaeronenses, Orchomenios, Lebadenses, Thebanos, et alios — sollemnia gravissima quae Daedala magna vocabantur supra iuga Cithaeronis communiter celebrasse. Hos cum

¹ Vide p. 8.

omnia ad res divinas rite instruxissent quo loco quique populus pompam traduceret sortitos esse. Cf. *Descript. Graec.* 9, 3, 7 :

τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα κοσμήσαντες . . . παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ ἀναθέντες ἐπὶ ἄμαξαν, γυναῖκα ἐφιστᾶσι νυμφεύτριαν· οἱ δὲ αὖθις κληροῦνται καθ' ἥντινα τάξιν τὴν πομπὴν ἀνάξουσιν· τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν τὰς ἀμάξας ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς ἄκρον τὸν Κιθαिरῶνα ἐλαύνουσιν.

Apud Andanios quoque feminae et virgines eodem ordine in pompa se excipiunt quo singulae sortes excidunt. Cf. Ditt. *Syll.* 388, v. 29 sq. : μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἱ παρθένοι αἱ ἱεραὶ καθὼς ἂν λάχωντι . . . v. 32 : ἔπειτεν αἱ ἱεραὶ κατὰ μίαν καθὼς κα λάχωντι . . . praeterea ibidem γυναικονόμῳ mandatum est ut sibi curae haberet ne quaequam ordine egrederetur : v. 33 sq. : ὁ δὲ γυναικονόμος κλαροῦτω τὰς τε ἱερὰς καὶ παρθένας καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχέτω ὅπως πομπεύωντι καθὼς κα λάχωντι.

V. DE VESTITV POMPEVTARVM

In universum vero vestimenta quae pompeutae Graeci diebus festis sumpserunt fusiora et sumptuosiora fuerunt quam ea quae in usum cottidianum veniebant. Nam a scriptoribus antiquis ornamenta aurea, vestes ex variis subteminibus textae, acu pictae — res pretiosissimae quas Graeci in pompis usurpabant — commemorantur, unde conligi potest cives vel publicos vel privatos ut habitum sollemnibus illis aptum praepararent impensas haudquaquam exiguas facere solitos esse. Itaque ab Aristophane comico docemur pauperes cum vestibus festis ad pompas egerent eas ab amicis locupletioribus mutuatos esse, nam in fabula *Lysistrata* (v. 1189 sqq.) mulier quaedam, mentione vestium stragularum et ornamentorum aureorum facta, haec insuper addit :

ὅσ' ἐστὶ μοι
οὐ φθόνος ἐνεστί μοι
πᾶσι παρέχειν φέρειν τοῖς
παυσίν, ὅπῳταν τε θυγά-
τηρ τινὶ κληροφῶῃ.

Hactenus haec. Nunc testimonia de huius generis vestimentis ex antiquitate servata adiciamus.

1. Canephorori. Habitum canephororum iam supra pp. 14–16 tractavimus.

2. Tibicines. Quamquam nulla apud scriptores veteres de tibicinum vestitu in pompis testimonia inveniuntur, tamen satis constat hos cum tibiis suis publice canerent vestes lineas sine cingulis quae ὀρθοστάδιοι χιτῶνες vocabantur induere solitos esse. Vide Studniczkae libellum qui inscribitur *Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht*, pp. 66–67.

3. Pompeutae — feminae et virgines. Vestes autem quibus feminae et virgines in pompa Cereris et Proserpinae apud Andanios vestiebantur titulus de mysteriis (Ditt. *Syll.* 388) commemorat :

ἐν δὲ τῇ πομπῇ αἱ μὲν ἱεραὶ γυναῖκες ὑποδύταν καὶ εἰμάτιον γυναικείον οὖλον, σημεῖα ἔχον μὴ πλατύτερα ἡμοδακτυλίου, αἱ δὲ παῖδες καλᾶσθην καὶ εἰμάτιον μὴ διαφανές. μὴ ἐχέτω δὲ μηδεμία χρυσία μηδὲ φῆκος μηδὲ ψιμύθιον μηδὲ ἀνάδεμα μηδὲ τὰς τρίχας ἀνπεπλεγμένας μηδὲ ὑποδήματα εἰ μὴ πύλινα ἢ δερμάτινα ἱερόθυτα.

4. Pompeutae — pueri. Pueri in pompis sacris vestimentis lineis vestiti esse videntur. Pausanias enim haec de pompa Cereris Chthoniae Hermione ducta refert (2, 35, 5) : τοῖς δὲ καὶ παισὶν ἔτι οὖσι καθέστηκεν ἤδη τὴν θεὸν τιμᾶν τῇ πομπῇ· οὗτοι λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχουσι στεφάνους. Habitus autem pueri daphnephori in pompa Apollinis Ismenii et Grandinantis apud Thebanos describit Proclus (ap. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 321, Bekkeri) : αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ δαφνηφόρος ἐπόμενος τῆς δάφνης ἐφάπτεται, τὰς μὲν κόμας καθειμένος, χρυσοῦν δὲ στέφανον φέρων καὶ λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα ποδῆρῃ ἐστολισμένος, ἱφικρατίδας τε ὑποδεδεμένος. His duobus locis congruit testimonium Eustathi (ad *Iliada* 24, p. 1337, 43) qui de eis dona nuptalia in pompa ferentibus haec refert : δῶρα παρὰ τοῦ τῆς νύμφης πατρὸς φερόμενα τοῖς νυμφίοις ἐν σχήματι πομπῆς· παῖς γάρ, φησὶν (Pausanias), ἡγεῖτο χλανίδα λευκὴν ἔχων καὶ λαμπάδα καιομένην, ἔπειτα παῖς ἑτέρα κανηφόρος, εἶτα λοιπαί, κτλ.

5. Pompeutae — viri. De vestitu virorum qui in pompis ducendis partes quasdam susceperunt nulla fere aut pauca admodum reperiri possunt. Sed in universum hi omnes vestes acu pictas et textura pretiosissimas induebant. Vide pp. 14–15 sub cap. 1. Ex opere autem Satyri scriptoris Peripatetici haec de Alcibiade refert Athenaeus (12, 534 C) : ὅτε δὲ χορηγούῃ πομπέων ἐν πορφυρίδι εἰσὼν εἰς τὸ

θέατρον ἐθαυμάζετο οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν.

His locis inspectis, nonnullas ad habitum pompeutarum leges invenimus :

1. Primum vero haud dubitamus quin apud Graecos quidam quasi rituales libri exstiterint in quibus praescriptum est quae vestimenta pompeutae in festis celebrandis sumere deberent. Huc enim revocandum est decretum Andaniorum supra passim laudatum quod non solum vestimenta certa pompeutis praestituit sed etiam feminae et virgines quibusdam ornamentis uti prohibet. Horum in numero minium et cerussa sunt, quibus cum multae mulieres Graecae genas suas tingere solebant, tum maxime meretrices. In eodem titulo decernitur decori causa ut neque feminae ullae neque virgines vestes tralucidas induant.

2. Ornamenta autem aurea quibus, ut satis certis exemplis supra demonstravimus, canepthori multis in urbibus utebantur, apud Andanios legibus sacris vetita sunt.

3. Canepthori et pompeutae alii ornamenta quaedam vel φάρμακα quo omina mala averterent gerere solebant.

4. Omnibus in urbibus mos fuisse videtur ut ei qui in pompis sacris prodirent vestibis fuis et usque ad talos dimissis vestirentur. Cf. vocc. ξυστίς (ποδήρες ἔνδυμα) p. 15 ; καλάσηρις p. 36 ; λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα ποδήρη p. 36. Pictor autem vasculi veteris (supra p. 8) quamquam secundum simplicitatem rudioris artis nonnullos pompeutas nudos depinxit, canepthorum tamen, tibicinem, et alios qui partes in pompa graviores suscipiunt, habitu proprio indutos repraesentavit.

5. Vestimenta puerorum in pompis ex lino facta esse docent loci supra laudati ubi voces λαμπρός et λευκός occurrunt. Cf. Studniczka, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht*, p. 56. Tibicines quoque eundem habitum sumpsisse hic vir doctus (ibidem p. 66) demonstrat.

VI. DE CVRATORIBVS POMPARVM

De curatoribus qui vasis pompalibus faciendis creati sunt iam alio loco (p. 20 sq.) disseruimus. Nunc restat ut de eis qui pompas instruendas susceperunt quaestionem instituamus.

1. Archontes. Archontem eponymum Athenis graviora festa administrare solitum esse et aliunde¹ satis constat et ex loco apud Aristotelem qui memoriae tradit archontem pompas Aesculapi, Dionysi, Apollinis Dianaque, et Iovis Soteris ducendas curavisse (*Respub. Athen.* 56, 4-5) :

πομπῶν δὲ ἐπιμελεῖ[ται τῆς τε] τῷ Ἀσκληπίῳ γιγνομένης ὅταν οἰκουρῶσι μύ[σ]ται καὶ τῆς Διονυσίων τῶν [μεγά]λων μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν . . . ἐπιμελ[εῖται] δὲ καὶ τῆς (sc. πομπῆς) εἰς Θαργήλια καὶ τῆς τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτήρι.

Ad haec officia spectat titulus honorarius (Ditt. *Syll.* 2. 382) :

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἄρχων [τὰς τε] ἄλλας θυσίας τέθυκεν, ὅσας αὐτῷ προσήκειν ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς ἐπιμεμέληται δὲ καὶ τῆς πομπῆς [τῇ] τῷ Διονύσῳ, κτλ. . . . ἐπαινέσαι.

Deinde ab Aristotele discimus archontem regem Eleusinia maiora minoraque et Lenaea celebranda curavisse et pompas horum sollemnium una cum curatoribus duxisse. *Respub. Athen.* 57, 1 sq. :

[ὁ δὲ] βασιλεὺς πρῶτον μὲν μυστηρίων ἐπιμελεῖ[ται μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν] . . . ἔπειτα Διονυσίων τῶν ἐπὶ Ληγαίῳ. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ [πομπὴ καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγών· τὴν] μὲν οὖν πομπὴν κοινῇ πέμπουσιν ὁ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταί. . . .

Idem archon autem Arrhephoria et Anthesteria² rite administranda curabat et feminas atque virgines quae his et aliis sollemnibus in pompis muneribus sacris fungerentur seligere solebat. Cf. Suidam

¹ Pollux, 8, 89: ὁ δὲ ἄρχων διατίθῃσι μὲν Διονύσια καὶ Θαργήλια μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν.

² Anno 281/280 a. C.

³ Cf. Ar. *Acharn.* 1224 cum Schol.; Ar. *Plut.* 1197; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* III, 1, p. 74.

(s. v. ἐπιώψατο)· ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιώψατο (= κατέλεξεν) ἀρρηφόρους. Auctor anonymus apud *E. M.* (s. v. ἀρρηφορέιν) has virgines suffragiis adhibitis electas esse adfirmat.

Fuerunt autem γεραραί quaedam quae festo die quo ἱερὸς γάμος celebrabatur pompam Dionysi una cum archontis regis uxore ducebant. Quo modo hae feminae selectae sint docet Pollux (8, 108): γεραραί· αὐται ἀρρητὰ ἱερὰ Διονύσῳ ἔθνον μετ' ἄλλης θεωρίας. καθίστη δὲ αὐτὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐσας τετταρασκαίδεκα.

Non abest igitur suspicio quin canephorī quoque ab archonte rege captae sint. Cf. quae de hac re nos supra p. 13 diximus.¹

2. Ἐπιμεληταί. Ἐπιμεληταί curatores Athenis fuerunt qui ut archontes annuos in sollemnibus curandis adiuvarent vel sorte vel suffragio populi creati sunt. Praeterea in aliis Graeciae urbibus ἐπιμεληταί fuerunt quibus idem munus obtigit. Iam singula quae ad horum curatorum administrationem in pompis ducendis pertinent examinare licet.

Primum vero fuit Athenis collegium decem curatorum qui sub archonte eponymo has pompas instruendas suscipiebant:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (a) | Pompa Aesculapi. | } Arist. <i>Respub.</i>
<i>Athen.</i> 56, 4-5. |
| (b) | " Dionysi (Dionysia maiora). | |
| (c) | " Apollinis et Dianae. | |
| (d) | " Iovis Soteris. | |
| (e) | " Minervae (Panathen. maiora). ² | |

Hi decem curatores usque ad annum 351 ante Christum natum suffragio populi creati sunt.³ Postea vero, ut ex Demosthenis loco conligi potest, sunt sorte ducti. Cf. orat. in *Phil.* 1, 35. Eodem quoque modo curatores seligebantur cum libellum illum de republica Atheniensium Aristoteles componebat; vide cap. 56, 4: τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν οὗς πρότερον μὲν ὁ δῆμος χειροτόνει δέκα ὄντας . . . νῦν δ' ἓνα τῆς

¹ Leges sacrae (βασιλέως νόμοι vel νόμος, apud Athenaeum, 234 F-235 B, et Pollucem, 3, 39; 6, 35) quas archon rex in festis colendis observabat nobis non superstites sunt.

² Dem. in *Phil.* 1, 35: τὴν μὲν τῶν Παραθηναίων ἐορτὴν καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν Διονυσίων δὲ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου γίγνεσθαι, ἀν τε δεινὸι λάχωσιν ἀν τ' ἰδιῶται οἱ τούτων ἐκατέρων ἐπιμελούμενοι.

³ Dem. contra *Mid.* 15.

φυλ[ῆς ἐκά]στης κληροί. Proximo saeculo tamen suffragiis adhibitis electi sunt. Cf. titulum (Ditt. *Syll.* 382) anno 281/0 a. C. exaratum. Denique anno 188/7 a. C. viginti quattuor curatores suffragio populi creatos esse docet decretum Atticum *CIA.* 2, 240.

Deinde aliud collegium curatorum fuit qui archontem regem adiuverunt. Hi quattuor numero fuerunt. Cf. Aristotelem (*De Repub. Athen.* 57, 1) : ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πρῶτον μὲν μυστηρίων ἐπιμελεί[ται μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν οὗς] ὁ δῆμος ἐχειροτόνει, δύο μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων, ἓνα δ' ἐξ [Εὐμολπιδῶν, ἓνα] δ' ἐκ Κηρ[ύκω]ν. ἔπειτα Διονυσίων τῶν ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ [πομπή καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγών· τὴν] μὲν οὖν πομπὴν κοινῇ πέμπουσιν ὃ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταί. . . . Pompae igitur quas hi viri ducendas suscipiebant sunt hae :

(a) Pompae Eleusiniorum (mai. et min.).

(b) Pompa Lenaeorum.

Exstat autem titulus Atticus (vel Boeotius) qui de curatoribus pompae Amphiarai apud Oropios testatur :¹

ἐπειδὴ οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπεμελήθησαν τῆς τε πομπῆς τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ . . . ἐπαινεῖσαι τοὺς αἰρεθέντας (sequuntur decem nomina propria) δικαιοσύνης ἕνεκεν καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεόν. . . .

Tres fuerunt ἐπιμεληταί apud Ilienses qui pompam Minervae ducebant. Cf. titulum *CIG.* 2, 3599 :²

. . . τῆς δὲ πομπῆς ἐπιμελητὰς [εἶναι τὸν τε ἱερέα] τῶν πάντων θεῶν καὶ τὸν ἀγνοθέτην καὶ τὸν ἐγλογιστήν. [ἐπιμελείσθων δ' ὅπ]ως κατὰ κάλλος πομπεύσιν ὥς καὶ ἐπάξια πομπῆς.

3. Ἱεροποιοί. His de sacrificulis quoniam vir doctus Doermerus ante hos sedecim annos plurima conguessit et erudite pertractavit,³ propositum est nobis hoc loco rem summatim attingere et ceteris sacrificulorum officiis omissis ea tantum disponere quae ad pompas pertinent.

¹ *CIG. Septen.* 4254 (329/8 a. C.).

² Quin hic titulus tertio vel secundo a. C. saeculo exaratus sit non dubitat Boeckhius.

³ *De Graecis Sacrificulis qui Iepopoioi dicuntur, Diss. Argent.* 1883.

Primum vero hos sacrificulos pompas agendas suscepisse satis late patet ex loco apud Demosthenem reperto (orat. in Phil. 1, 26) :

οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε δ' ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξιάρχους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο; τί οὖν οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν; πλὴν ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς, ὃν ἂν πέμψῃτ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν.

His de muneribus autem titulus Atticus (Ditt. Syll. 380) quarto a. C. saeculo exeunte exaratus haec servat :

[ὅπως ἂν . . . εὐ]σ[εβ]ῶς κα[ὶ] . . . κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν κ[αὶ] τελεσθῇ ἡ πομπή παρεσκε[υασμ]ένῃ ὡς ἄριστα τῇ 'Αθηνᾷ καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν . . . v. 17 sqq. : βοωνήσαντες οἱ ἱερ[οποιοὶ] μετὰ τ[ῶν] βοωνῶν πέμψαντες τὴν πομπὴν τῇ θε[ῳ] κτλ. . . . denique his mandatur : τὴν πομπὴν πέμπε[ιν] ἅμα ἡ]λίψ ἀνιόντι.

Deinde ex eodem titulo apparet hos sacrificulos in pompa ducenda officiisque administrandis iussos esse eos qui sibi non obtemperaturi essent poenis lege constitutis adficere :¹

τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιούς τοὺς διο[ικούντας τ]ὰ Παναθήναια τὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ποιεῖν τὴν πα[ννυχίδα] ὡς καλλίστην τῇ θεῳ καὶ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπε[ιν] ἅμα ἡ]λίψ ἀνιόντι, ζημιοῦντας τὸν μὴ πιεθαρχο[ύντα ταῖς ἐκ] τῶν νόμων ζημίαις.

Postremo his sacrificulis vel hominibus saltem qui *ραβδοφόροι* dicuntur mandatum est ut eos qui legibus sacris ad sollemnia et pompas pertinentibus minus obsequentes essent virgis coercerent et in ordinem cogerent.² Hac de re gravissimum testimonium praebet titulus Mysiae, CIG. 2, 3599 :

καθιστάναι [δὲ καὶ ἄνδρας . . .] τοὺς τῆς εὐταξίας ἐπιμελησομένους, καὶ τοὺς καταθέντας ἔχειν [ἐξουσίαν τοὺς ἀτακτ]οῦντας τῇ ράβδῳ κολλάζειν. ἄγε[ιν] δὲ τὴν πομπὴν ἐκ τῶν βασιλ[είων] ἧτινι ἂν ὀδῳ] διατάξω[σι]ν οἷς ἐπιτέταται. . . .

4. 'Αθλοθέται, 'Αγωνοθέτης. Quarto a. C. saeculo ἀθλοθέτας decem Athenis sorte constitutos esse qui pompam et ceteras Panathenaeorum

¹ Cf. Doermerum pp. 28-29.

² Cf. Doermerum p. 29.

caerimonias administrarent ab Aristotele nobis proditum est; *De Repub. Athen.* 60:

κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀθλοθέτας δέκα [ᾧ]νδρας ἓνα τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης. οὗτοι δὲ δοκιμασθέντες ἄρχουσι τέτταρ[α ἔ]τη, καὶ διοικοῦσι τὴν τε πομπὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς μουσικῆς καὶ τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν, κτλ.

Pauca quae ad agonothesiam pertinent decretum Atticum (*CIA.* 4, 421, c) ostendit:

[καὶ πάντ]α τὰ πρὸς τὴν πομπὴν καὶ [τ . . . σ]ωζόμενας τοῖς [. . . ἐπο]ίησεν μεγαλομερῶς καὶ [τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε]ν ἀξίως τῆς τε [ἀρχῆς κα]ὶ τοῦ χειροτονήσαντος [αὐτὸν δήμου, ἔ]λεξεν δὲ καὶ [κانهφόρον] τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέ[ρα . . . quo de munere Koehlerus (*CIA.* ad loc.) sic scripsit: *curam ludorum Panathenaicorum recentiore aetate non iam apud athlothetas tributum creatos sed penes agonothesiam fuisse ex hoc titulo certe cognoscitur.* Idem vir doctus adfirmat agonothesiam paulo post annum 308 a. C. institutam esse.

5. Sodalicia — Cives privati. Hi omnes curatores — archontes, ἐπιμεληταί, ἱεροποιοί, ἀθλοθέται, ἀγωνοθέται — pompas in publicis deorum festis instruendas curaverunt. Fuerunt etiam sodalicia quaedam quae pompas ducere solebant. Cf. titulum *CIA.* 4, 611, b. Hunc lapidem sodales Veneris ut collegam Stephanum propter diligentiam et pietatem in sacris faciendis laudarent statuerunt:

Ἐπὶ Νικοκλείους ἄρχοντος.¹ ἔδοξεν τοῖς θιασιώταις· ἐπει[δὴ] Στέφανος θωρακοποιὸς ἐπι[με]λητῆς γενόμενος τῶν κοινῶ[ν πάν]των ἐπιμεμέληται τὴν ἐπιμ[έλ]ειαν ἣν ἔδει αὐτὸν ἐπιμελη[θῆν]αι καὶ τᾶλλα φιλοτιμούμε[νος δι]ετέλεσεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ κ[αὶ τ]ὴν πομπὴν τῶν Ἀδωνίων ἐπεμ[ψε κ]ατὰ τὰ πάτρια, τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ[ι δ]εδόχθαι τοῖς θιασιώταις ἐπα[ινέ]σαι Στέφανον, κτλ.

Cives privatos, cum res poscerent, pompas suo iure ducere solitos esse loci Aristophanis quos nos passim adnotavimus satis perspicue demonstrant. Vide *Acharn.* 242 sqq. ubi rusticus quidam ut Dionysia celebraret pompam phallicam, filia et servo adiuvantibus, ordinat. Cf. etiam *Eccl.* 730 sqq. et *Plut.* 1197 sqq.

¹ Anno 302/1 a. C.

VII. DE VIIS PRAEPARANDIS

Erat vero religioni Graecorum consentaneum vias quibus pompae ad templa deorum ducebantur magna cum cura munitas esse. Itaque priscis temporibus filii Vulcani (κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου, Aesch. *Eum.* v. 13) viam ad Delphicum Apollinis templum fecerunt. Viam quoque sacram ab Athenis usque ad Eleusin productam esse omnes sciunt. Battus autem qui anno 628 ante Christum natum coloniam Cyrenen condidit, viam qua pompae a foro urbis ad fanum Apollinis ire possent, planam et expeditam per saxa fecit. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 5, 89–93 :

κτίσεν δ' ἄλσέα μείζονα θεῶν,
εὐθύτομόν τε κατέθηκεν Ἀπολλωνίαῖς
ἀλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς
ἔμμεν ἱππόκροτον
σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν, ἔνθα πρυμ-
νοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ δίχα κείται θανών.

Viae igitur ad templa frequentissima ductae sunt. Deinde notandum est Graecos cum dies festi instarent, ne aliquid mali accideret, plateas et vicos urbis quibus pompae sacrae incessurae essent, a quisquiliis et sordibus purgare solitos esse. Hac de re gravissimum testimonium adhibet titulus Atticus (Ditt. *Syll.* 2, 337, anno 320/19 a. C.) qui in Piraeo inventus est. In hoc enim decreto cautum est ut curatores quibus hoc officium obtigit viam qua pompa Iovis Soteris et Dionysi itura esset sub dies festos a sordibus purgarent et ad libramentum proprium redigerent :

ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς ἀγορανόμους τῶν ὁδῶν τῶν πλατειῶν ἧ ἡ πομπὴ
πορεύεται τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτήρι καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ὅπως ἂν ὁμαλισθῶσιν καὶ
κατασκευασθῶσιν ὡς βέλτιστα . . . ὅπως δ' ἂν καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν
χρόνον ὡς βέλτιστα ἢ [κα]τε[σκευασμέν]α τὰ τ' ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ ἐμ
Πειραιῇ καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς μὴ ἐξεί[ν]αι [μηδενὶ μήτε] χροῦν κα[τα-
βά]λλαι μῆτε ἀλλ[ο] μηδὲν μήτε] κόπρο[ν μήτε ἐ]ν τῇ ἀγορᾷ μῆ[τ']
ἐ[ν] ταῖς ὁδοῖς [μηδαμοῦ. . . . Praeterea his curatoribus mandatum
est ut ab eis qui hoc decretum perfragissent poenas lege constitutas
persequerentur : ἐὰν δέ τις τ]ούτων τι ποιῇ, ἐὰμ μ[ἐν δοῦλος ἦ . . .]
α μά[στ]ιγ[ι] P πληγὰς . . . ἀνάγκ[ε]ι θερ . . . αὐτῷ ε . . . τες
αν . . . ον . . .

Num aqua veteres Graeci cum pompas ducturi essent vias propter pulverem conspergere soliti sint certis exemplis non confirmari potest.

VIII. DE SVMPTIBVS POMPARVM

Quod ad sumptus pomparum attinet, neminem fugit Graecos in festis celebrandis, hostiis emendis, pompis ludisque instruendis permagnam pecuniam consumpsisse. Verum horum sollemnium impensae in rationibus quaestorum ita sunt inter se connexae et indiscretae omnes ut quantam pecuniam curatores ad pompas solas apparandas impenderint nullo modo satis enucleari possit. Sed tamen ex testimonio scriptorum et inscriptionum Graecarum constat pecuniam quae in hos sumptus erogata sit curatoribus festorum aut ex aerario publico aut ex loculis civium opulentiorum numeratam esse. Primum igitur de pecunia ex privatis civium opibus in festa impensa quaerere licet.

Notum est vero morem Atticis fuisse ut cives divitiores ad publica munera suscipienda lege constituti quae *λειτουργίαι* vocabantur, quasdam rei publicae impensas suis copiis persolverent. De his liturgiis quidem quae ad pompas pertinent paucissima apud scriptores antiquos reperiuntur.¹ Aristoteles in libro illo quem de republica Atheniensium scripsit nobis tradit aetate superiore curatores (*ἐπιμελητάς*) suam pecuniam in festa et pompas erogavisse. Cf. cap. 56, 4 :

πομπῶν δ' ἐπιμελεῖται (sc. ὁ ἄρχων) τῆς τε τῷ Ἀσκληπίῳ γιγνομένης . . . καὶ τῆς Διονυσίων τῶν [μεγά]λων μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν, οὓς πρότερον μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐχειροτόνει δέκα ὄντας [καὶ τὰ] εἰς τὴν πομπὴν ἀναλώματα παρ' αὐτῶν ἦν[εγκ]ον, νῦν δ' ἓνα τῆς φυλ[ῆς ἐκά]στης κληροῖ καὶ δίδωσιν εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν ἑκατὸν μνᾶς.

Deinde sequitur quaestio de pecunia ex aerario publico. Hac de re ex duobus titulis discimus rem publicam Atheniensium athlotheticis qui anno 415 a. C. Panathenaea magna curaverunt talenta novem numeravisse (*CIA.* I, 183), sed paucis post annis, clade Siciliensi accepta, in eisdem sollemnibus apparandis quinque talenta tantum una cum mille drachmis consumpsisse (*CIA.* I, 188). Tum sequente saeculo Aristoteles testatur suo tempore populum curatoribus tributim sorte ductis

¹ De pomparum sumptibus Boeckhius (*Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*) nusquam disputat.

centum minas ad festa Aesculapi et Dionysi rite celebranda et pompas instruendas dedisse; vide locum quem supra laudavimus. Eodem fere tempore exaratus est titulus *CIA.* 2, 163 qui de pompa Minervae quotannis ducta haec praebet:

[εἰς δὲ τὰ μι]σθώματα τῆς πομπῆς καὶ τὸ μαγειρικὸν κα[ὶ κόσμησιν] τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα προσ[ήκει προνο]εῖσθαι περὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν καὶ εἰς παννυχίδα [διδόναι] ^π δραχμὰς.

Ilienses autem tertio vel secundo a. C. saeculo annuam usuram quam ex pecunia publica apud argentarios adlocata acceperant in sollemnia et pompam Minervae impendere solebant. *CIG.* 3599:

ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς προσόδου γίνεσθαι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐν τῷ Παναθην[αίῳ ἐν τῇ ἐορ]τῇ τῶν Ἰλιακῶν πομπὴν καὶ θυσίαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. τοὺς δὲ τραπε[ζίτας διδόναι ἐκάστου] ἔτους ἀπὸ τῆς προσόδου τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἐν τῷ Παναθηναίῳ [τοῖς ἐφ' ἐκάστῃ]ς φυλῆς αἰρεθησομένοις φυλάρχαις κατὰ φυλὴν δραχμὰς ἑκα[τὸν καὶ πεντήκον]τα, τριώβολον [ἀν]ατριακοσιολόγιστον, καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ ἀργύριον.

Haec habuimus de rebus ad pompas sacras apud Graecos pertinentibus quae diceremus. Speramus vero fore ut rem omnem hoc initio facto liceat multo fusius postea pertractemus.

ORIENTAL CULTS IN BRITAIN

BY CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE

THE spread of certain oriental cults over the western world furnishes an interesting subject for investigation to one studying the religions of Greece and Rome. Greece by her position was especially exposed to influences from the East and from Egypt. To say nothing of the earlier centuries in which Greek thought absorbed and assimilated foreign divinities and religious concepts more or less perfectly with her own, we know that from the fourth century B.C., when the power to assimilate was gone, the worship of Asiatic and Egyptian gods rapidly increased in the islands of the Aegean and on the mainland as well. But it is an interesting fact that in the Hellenistic and Roman period Greece proper played only a subordinate part as intermediary in matters of religion between East and West. The *Magna Mater*, the first Asiatic divinity to gain a recognized position at Rome, was brought directly from Phrygia. The introduction of her worship was a state act; but most eastern cults were brought in by slaves, traders, or the army. We know that a colony of Egyptian traders introduced before 333 B.C. the cult of Isis at the Peiraeus¹, and we must believe it was a similar body, coming probably by way of southern Italy, that established the worship of the goddess on the very Capitol at Rome, possibly as early as the second century B.C. Although forbidden in 58 B.C. and again in 53 B.C., it gained recognition ten years later when the triumvirs built a temple on the Campus Martius for the public worship; from this time the cult of Isis and the divinities closely connected with her spread rapidly over the West.

But in the late republic and especially under the empire the most important agent for the transmission of oriental cults was the army. Auxiliary troops, enrolled in the East, when transferred to other provinces, carried with them the worship of their native divinities and made these familiar to the localities in which they were stationed;

¹ *CIA*. II, 168.

soldiers from the West, quartered in the East, frequently adopted the prominent local divinity of the district in which they were established, identifying him ordinarily with Iupiter: so the Syrian Ba'al became Iupiter (O. M.) Dolichenus, the Syrian Sun god, Adad, Iupiter (O. M.) Heliopolitanus¹; in the same way we have Iupiter Serapis, etc.

It is my purpose in the present paper to examine the evidence for oriental cults in the Roman province of Britain, and to show how closely these cults are connected with the military occupation of the island. The sources are scanty, but sufficient to prevent the work being fruitless; and it will serve, I trust, in a slight way to illustrate the heterogeneity of life and belief in a remote corner of the world in the second and third centuries of our era. The evidence is wholly epigraphical and monumental; none of it is earlier than Hadrian's campaigns, and naturally the greater part is given by inscriptions found at stations on Hadrian's wall, which were centres for the traders as well as the soldiery.

The cults of the following divinities are attested: Astarte, Dea Syria, Hercules Tyrius, Iupiter Optimus Maximus with the cognomina Dolichenus and Heliopolitanus, Serapis, and most fully Mithras and Sol.

Astarte and Hercules Tyrius are each mentioned once in Greek dedicatory inscriptions on altars found at Corbridge, the Roman mansio Corstopitum, not far to the south of Hadrian's wall.

Page 97². (a) Ἀστάρτης βωμόν μ' ἐσορᾶς | Πούλλχέρ μ' ἀνέθηκεν.
(b) Ἡρακλεῖ Τυρίῳ(ι) | Διοδώρα ἀρχιέρεια.

While these inscriptions cannot be dated, they are later than Hadrian's campaigns, for there is no evidence that there was a camp or station at this point before that time, in spite of the discovery here of an inscription of the *cohors IIII* of the *legio II Augusta* which was brought to Britain under Claudius³. The single name marks the dedicators as

¹ Of course this identification was not confined to the soldiery. Cf. *CIL.* X, 1576, 1578, 1579, 1634.

For an interesting example of the identification of Germanic divinities with Roman by the *cuneus Frisiorum* in Britain, see Huebner's article, *Mars Thingsus*, in his *Römische Herrschaft in Westeuropa*. Berlin, 1890, pp. 57 ff.

² The references are to *CIL.* VII, unless otherwise indicated.

³ No. 474. The other legion mentioned at this place is the *Sexta Victrix* which Hadrian brought from Germany. Nos. 475-477. Cf. Huebner, *Hermes* XVI, pp. 530, 546. The earliest datable inscription found here is to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, No. 473.

peregrini or slaves rather than Romans, and the use of the Greek language points in the same direction. The appearance of the rather rare title *ἀρχιέρεια*¹ gives occasion for interesting conjecture. It is the proper title for the wife of a *flamen provinciae* (*ἀρχιερεύς*); but as the office of provincial *flamen* was regularly filled from the highest ranks, the wife of such an official would hardly designate herself by a single name, even to preserve the hexameter. *Ἀρχιερεύς*, and by analogy *ἀρχιέρεια*, may, however, denote the head of a priestly college or one in charge of a cult in a special locality. It is therefore not unreasonable to conjecture that Pulcher and Diodora belonged to a body of traders that followed the army, and established a shrine at Corstopitum to the gods of their own people, Astarte and Melkarth, i. e. Hercules Tyrius. Diodora was apparently in charge of the worship of the latter divinity.

The worship of Dea Syria, the Syrian Atargatis, who was known to the Romans from the time of Crassus' ill fated expedition², is attested by three inscriptions, one of which fortunately can be dated. It was found on an altar at Carvoran, the eleventh station on Hadrian's wall:

758. Deae Suri|ae sub Calp|urnio Agr|icola leg(ato) Aug(usti)|
pr(o) pr(aetore) A. Licinius|Clemens praef(ectus)|[c]oh(ortis) I
Hamior(um). . . .

Calpurnius Agricola was governor in Britain ca. 162-169 A.D. The *cohors I Hamiorum* is first named in connection with other troops in a military diploma³ dated Sept. (?) 15, 124 A.D., and was undoubtedly one of the cohorts brought to the island by Hadrian. Its presence at this station is further attested by at least three other inscriptions⁴, one of which, as well as the diploma just mentioned, has the significant designation, *sagittarii*. The Hamii are otherwise unknown, but Huebner⁵ conjectures from the word *sagittarii* that they were either

¹ The title appears late in Greece itself, naturally in connection with *concilia*, e. g. from Megara, *IGSept.* I, 111, *ἀρχιέρεια τῶν Σεβαστῶν*, 2d or 3d century; from Boeotia, *IGSept.* I, 3426, *ἀρχιέρεια διὰ βίου τοῦ τε κοινοῦ Βουωτῶν τῆς Ἰωαννῆς Ἀθηναῖς κτλ.*, early 3d century. In western Asia Minor and the adjacent islands the title is common in the Christian period, as the index to the *CIG.* shows.

² Plut. *Crass.* 17. Possibly earlier; cf. *Bull. de Corresp. Hell.* VI, p. 495 ff.

³ 1195.

⁴ 748, 773, 774.

⁵ *Hermes* XVI, p. 579.

Oriental or Africans; and at first thought the conjecture that they were Orientals seems to be supported by the fact that it is a Syrian divinity to whom the dedication was made. I return to this question in the following paragraph.

The second inscription was found on a large stone tablet at the same station; the date is uncertain, but from the shape of the letters Huebner assigns it to the third century:

759. Imminet Leoni Virgo caelesti situ
 spicifera, iusti inventrix, urbium conditrix,
 ex quis muneribus nosse contigit deos.
 ergo eadem mater divum, Pax, Virtus, Ceres,
 dea Syria, lance vitam et iura pensitans.
 in caelo visum Syria sidus edidit
 Libyae colendum; inde cuncti didicimus.
 ita intellexit numine inductus tuo
 Marcus Caecilius Donatianus, militans
 tribunus in praefecto dono principis.

This confession of faith is interesting for many reasons, not least for the syncretism of the first five lines¹. That the origin of the cult was clearly recognized as Syrian is shown by the words: *in caelo visum Syria sidus edidit Libyae colendum*. If we hold with Huebner that Caecilius belonged to the *cohors I Hamiorum* mentioned above — and there is no reason to doubt this point — the phrase, *inde cuncti didicimus*, that immediately follows, has an important bearing on the question of the cohort's origin, which, so far as I know, has not been noted. Caecilius here states that the cult came from Syria to Libya — and it is well known that the worship of the Phoenician Astarte, the Roman Virgo Caelestis, was widespread in Africa². He then goes on, 'from Libya we have all learned to worship the goddess'. This clearly implies that Libya is the native land of this cohort, and I believe gives the deciding vote in favor of Africa as the original home of the Hamii³.

¹ See Note at the end of this article.

² Cf. index to *CIL*. VIII s. v. Virgo.

³ Since this article was put in type there has come to my notice the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Part 53 for 1899, which contains (pp. 289 ff.) a paper by Dr. Thos.

The third inscription is on an altar from Thornborough, the Roman Cataractonium, in the north part of Yorkshire. It is fragmentary: 272, Deae | Syria | e ara(m) | Saio ? | b(ene) f(iciarius). . . . The name *Saio* is too uncertain to warrant any conjecture, but the title *beneficiarius* fixes the dedicator as a soldier. No evidence has been found that enables us to connect him with a definite body of troops; it is interesting, however, to note that the diploma mentioned above, p. 49, was also found in Yorkshire, but to the south near Sheffield.

Two other divinities of Syrian origin are next to be considered, Iupiter O. M. Heliopolitanus and Iupiter O. M. Dolichenus. The worship of the former divinity, the Syrian Adad, the Sun god of Heliopolis, was brought in the course of trade to Italy, possibly by way of Delos¹, and was first established at Puteoli². The cult was carried to Gaul by a certain Tiberinus, also apparently a trader, who wrote himself *domo Beryto*³. That the soldiery likewise had its share in the transmission of this cult is clear from a number of inscriptions⁴. In Britain two fragmentary altar inscriptions prove the existence of the worship of this god also at the eleventh station on Hadrian's wall: of the first (752) only the dedication is certain, I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Heliopoli . . . ; the second (753) shows merely the letters I. O. M. O. | H., which Huebner reads I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) | H(eliopolitano). Since, however, no other inscriptions in which Iupiter Dolichenus and Iupiter Heliopolitanus are associated have been found outside Pannonia⁵, Hettner⁶ denies this reading, claiming that H. is the initial of the dedicator.

Hodgkin in which he regards this inscription as "virtually an apotheosis of Julia Domna, wife of the emperor Severus and mother of Geta". This is certainly an interesting conjecture. I regret that I cannot enter into a discussion of the question now.

¹ Homolle. *Bull. de Corresp. Hell.* VIII, p. 75 ff.

² *CIL.* X, 1578, 1579, 1634 . . . cultores Iovis Heliopolitani Berytenses qui Puteolis consistunt. Cf. *Am. Journ. of Arch., Sec. Series*, II, p. 374, 2.

³ *CIL.* XII, 3072.

⁴ E. g. *CIL.* VI, 423, I. O. M. H. | Conservatori | imperii D. N. Gordiani | Pii Fel. invicti Aug. | L. Trebonius Fab. | Sossianus | colonia Heliupoli | frum. leg. IIII Fl. | Gordianae | p. p.

⁵ *CIL.* III, 3462, 3908.

⁶ *De Iove Dolicheno.* Bonn, 1877, p. 43.

In the dissertation just referred to, Hettner has admirably shown how the worship of Iupiter O. M. Dolichenus, the Syrian Ba'al, spread to the West from the petty town Doliche in Commagene. The warlike character of the god made him a favorite with the soldiers, as is proved by the numerous dedicatory inscriptions set up by them in all parts of the Roman world. Nine inscriptions in Britain bear witness to the popularity of the god there. One I have just mentioned. The only one of the number that can be dated with certainty is from the third station on Hadrian's wall, Condercum, not far from Newcastle: 506, I. O. [M. Dolic]he|no et numinibus|Aug(usti) pro salute imp(erato-ris)|Caesaris T. Aeli Hadr(iani)|Antonini Aug(usti) Pii p(atris) p(atriciae)|et leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae)|M. Liburnius Fron|to c(enturio) leg(ionis) eiusdem|v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

The mention of the emperor fixes the date as between 138-161 A.D.

From the time of Claudius the *legio II Augusta* named in this inscription took an important part in the subjugation and holding of Britain; after the beginning of the second century it had its fixed headquarters at Caerleon, Isca, in the south of Wales¹. It is therefore to an officer of this legion that we may assign the following dedication from Caerleon: 98, Iovi O. M. Dolich(eno)|Froni/o Aemilianus 'Calpurnius|Rufilianus [v(ir) c(larissimus) l]eg(atu)s|Augustorum monitu.

Returning to the sixth station on the wall, the modern Chesters, we have an inscription of the early third century: *Eph. Epig.* VII, p. 320, No. 1016, I. O. [M.] Dol(icheno)|pro sal(ute) [Au]g(ustorum) N(ostrorum)|Gal(erius) Ver(ecundus).

The Augusti are probably Alexander and Elagabalus². As we know that troops from not only the *legio II Augusta*, but also the *legio VI Victrix*, and certain cohorts³ were stationed here at various times, it is impossible to attach with certainty the dedicator to a definite military force, but Nos. 506 and 98 tempt one to regard him as a member of the same *legio II Augusta*.

The tenth station, Greatchesters, has given us two dedicatory inscriptions, one (725) fragmentary from apparently the third century. The

¹ Before that time at Gloucester, Glevum. Huebner, *Hermes* XVI, p. 530.

² Cf. *Eph. Epig.* III, p. 113, No. 100.

³ Cf. 584, of the same date as 506, 597-605. *Eph. Epig.* VII, p. 321, No. 1024.

restoration is doubtful, but the proposal of Hettner¹ is to be preferred to that of Huebner. Hettner reads, [I.] O. M. D(olicheno) | [Aurelius] Sabini fil(ius) | [Oufent] ina Regulus | [sacerdos] Dul(ceni) | . . . While there is no indication that Regulus was a soldier, the status of the dedicator in the second inscription is not so uncertain, *Arch. Ael.* XIX (1898), 3, p. 271. I. O. M. | Doliceno Lu|cius Maxim|ius Gaetulicus | (c)enturio leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | v(otum) [s(olvit) l(ibens)] m(erito).

To the north of Hadrian's wall we find but one certain dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus, that on an altar at Habitancium, the modern Risingham, on the great road between the wall and Edinburgh: 991, [I. O. M.] | Dolocheno | C. Iul(ius) Publ(ius) | Pius trib(unus) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

This tribune probably belonged to the *cohors I Vangiorum*² of which Habitancium was the headquarters. The date is probably the latter half of the second century.

The next dedication to be considered is from Gainford in Durham³: 422, I. O. M. | Dolycheno | [I]ul(ius) Valentin[us] | ord(inarius) ceri? sui? | ex iussu ipsiu[s] | posuit pro se et | suis . . . l . . . | [Pr]aesente et Torquato cos.

The reading of the last line is not entirely certain; possibly *Praesente et Rufino cos.* (153 A.D.) should be read. Although the title *ordinarius* marks the dedicator as a military officer, our knowledge of the forces stationed at Gainford is not sufficient to enable us to assign him to a special force.

Finally from Plumpton in Cumberland, the site of a Roman camp, comes an interesting inscription, for it records the existence there of a shrine to I. O. M. Dolichenus: 316, In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) | [aedem] vetustate co[n]lapsam | [Aurel[ius] At[tianus] praef(ectus) c]o[h(ortis)] II [Gallorum restituit]. Huebner's restoration of the last line is very probable, as we know from Nos. 315 and 317 that this cohort had its station near by at

¹ *De Iove Dolicheno*, p. 43.

² Cf. *CIL.* VII, p. 169.

³ No. 345 from Piers Bridge may also be a dedication to the same divinity, but its fragmentary condition makes certainty impossible.

the present Old Penrith. The formula *In h. d. d.* shows that the date cannot be earlier than the end of the second century.

Two inscriptions bear witness to the cult of Serapis in Britain; his worship had existed at Rome certainly from the time of Sulla. One (298) a simple altar dedication, *Iovi Serapi | L. Alfenus Pater(nus)*, is from Kirkby Thore in Westmoreland, near the Roman Brovonacae; the other, dating apparently from the end of the second century, was found in the foundations of a Roman building at York and proves the hold this divinity had here, for it records the building of a temple to the god by a legate of the *legio VI Victrix*: 240, *Deo Sancto | Serapi | templum a so|lo fecit | Cl. Hierony|mianus leg(atus) | leg(ionis) VI vic(tricis)*.

The foundations of the building in which the inscription was found seem to belong to this temple¹.

There remains to be considered the evidence for the worship of Sol and Mithras, who were so completely identified by the Romans that their cults must be treated as one. The inscriptions and sculptures relative to this cult are now best published by Cumont in his elaborate work, *Textes et Monuments Figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, vol. II.

Beginning in the south of the island we find that at London a veteran of the *legio II Augusta* paid his vow by setting up in honor of the god a marble monument² bearing the stock Mithras relief and the following inscription: *Eph. Epig. VII, p. 276, No. 816, Vlpus Silvanus | factus Arausione | emeritus leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) | votum solvit*.

An officer of the same legion, probably a centurion, erected an altar at Caerleon, the headquarters of the force: 99, *[Deo sa]ncto | [Mi]thrae | . . . s Iustus | [c(enturio) le]gionis II Aug(ustae) | [l(ibens)] m(erito) f(ecit)*.

Going northward we have dedications at three other places south of the wall: one (*Eph. Epig. III, p. 122, No. 77*) at York, one (309) at Whitley Castle in Cumberland, and two (434 and 1344 c) at Lanchester

¹ In this connection should be mentioned a cornelian intaglio ring found near Castleheads about 1780, on which are cut heads of Isis, Serapis, and Horus; beneath the heads are the letters *Є Z C = ες Ζεὸς Σάραυς*. *Eph. Epig. VII, p. 351, No. 1175*. For other monuments found in Britain referring to the cult of Isis, see Roscher's *Lexikon* II, p. 416.

² Reproduced by Cumont, II, p. 389.

in Durham. The stations on the wall again furnish most evidence. Byker Bridge, near the Roman Segedunum, at the east end of the wall, and Chesters, the sixth station, have yielded one inscription each that is probably Mithraic, but their fragmentary condition makes confident ascription impossible¹.

An inscription found at the twelfth station, Amboglanna, however, is a certain dedication to Sol-Mithras and has preserved the name of the dedicator with his rank: 831, D(eo) S(oli) | invicto | h(?) pesm? | cus Licinii | Ripanus praef(ectus) v(otum) s(olvit).

At the thirteenth station, Petrianae, two Mithraic inscriptions have been discovered, one (890) a mere dedication: Deo Soli Mitr(ae) | . . . , the other naming as dedicator a prefect: 889, [Deo] Soli | [in]victo | Sex(tus) Seve|rius Sa|lvator | [pr]aefectus | [v(otum) s(olvit)] l(ibens) m(erito).

While our sources show that the *cohors IV Gallorum* and the *cohors II Tungrorum* were at this point, it is impossible here, as in the case of the prefect named in 831, to determine the body of troops in which the dedicator was officer.

The discoveries at Rutchester, the fourth station, and at Housesteads, the eighth, are most interesting, as they show that the soldiery had shrines to Mithras with a number of altars in each at both stations. In the shrine at Rutchester² were found four inscribed altars. Of one (543) only the dedication, Soli | Apollini | aniceto | . . . , is intact; two others give the names of the dedicators and their rank:

541. Deo invicto | Mytrae P. Ael(ius) | Flav[i]nus praef(ectus) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

542. Deo Soli invic(to) | Tib. Cl(audius) Decimus | Cornel(ia) Anto|nius praef(ectus) | templ(um) restit(uit).

The fourth gives the legion with which the dedicator was connected:

544. Deo | L. Lentius | Castus | leg(ionis) VI d(onum) p(osuit).

As the only other body of troops quartered here was the *cohors I Frisianorum*, it is reasonable to conjecture that this shrine of Mithras belonged to the sixth legion and that the dedicators were all officers of that body.

¹ *Eph. Epig.* VII, p. 318, No. 1007. *CIL.* VII, 579.

² The most available description of this shrine is to be found in Bruce, *The Roman Wall*, 3d ed. (1867), p. 127 f., where the altars are reproduced.

The shrine found at Housesteads was apparently attached to a dwelling¹. Of the six altars found within the shrine four (647-650) have only the dedications, Deo Soli, Deo Mithrae, etc.; the other two have preserved their inscriptions complete:

645. Deo | Soli invi|cto Mytrae | saeculari | Litorius | Pacatianus | b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ulis) pro | se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) | l(ibens) m(erito).

646. . . . | Invicto Mit|rae saecular(i) | Publ(icius) Proculi|nus c(enturio) pro se | et Proculo fil(io) | suo v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) | d(ominis) n(ostris) Gallo et | Volusino co(n)s(ulibus).

As inscriptions show the presence here of members of the second, sixth, and twentieth legions, it is impossible to determine the body to which these dedicators belonged. The date of No. 646 is furnished by the last line, 252 A.D., and inasmuch as the two altars on which these inscriptions are found were side by side when discovered, connected by a relief², it is probable that they were set up at about the same time.

In each dedication the god has the epithet, *saecularis*, clearly in the sense of 'God of the Ages'. This term is nowhere else applied to Mithras, but in so far as it marks the immortal and all powerful character of the divinity, it closely resembles the epithet *aeternus* given him, *CIL.* V, 6961, VIII, 8923; it is a mark of the pantheistic tendency of the times in which each band of devotees claimed its divinity as supreme and all embracing. The date, 252 A.D., enabled MacCaul³ cleverly to connect the epithet with the secular games celebrated by the Philippi in 248 A.D.

Finally we find north of Hadrian's wall at High Rochester, the Roman Bremenium, the record of the building of a temple to Mithras by a tribune and his fellow worshippers: 1039, Deo invicto Soli soc(io) | sacrum. Pro salute | et incolumitate imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) | M. Aureli Antonini pii felic(is) | Aug(usti) L. Caecilius Optatus | trib(unus) coh(ortis) I Vardul(orum) cum con[sa] | craneis votum

¹ Described by Bruce *l. c.*, p. 399. Cumont *l. c.*, p. 393 f., quotes Hodgson's account from *Arch. Ael.* I (1828), p. 265 ff. and *History of Northumberland*, 1840, p. 190.

² Reproduced by Cumont *l. c.*, p. 395.

³ Cf. Bruce, *Lapidarium Sept.*, p. 98.

l[i]be[n]s [s(olvit) aedem(que)] | a solo extrux[it d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)].

Bruce¹ has shown that the emperor here named is Elagabalus, hence the date is 219–222 A.D. The inscription therefore proves that even after the abandonment of the wall of Antoninus Pius by Septimius Severus ca. 207 A.D.², the station at Bremenium was still occupied, as were Habitancium and the camp at Netherby³; but how long in the third century this garrison continued here cannot be determined. This inscription is the latest reference to the *cohors I Vardullorum*.

But the rare word *consacranei* requires notice. In literature it is found in Capitol. *Gord.* 14 = *commilitones* and Tertul. *Apol.* 16 of a fellow believer; it occurs in two inscriptions, *CIL.* XII, 5379, in a dedication to a Gallic divinity, *consacran · Bovodates*, and III, 2109, where the dedicator is described *col(lega) et consacranus*. The word clearly denotes the member of a religious association, and its use in our inscription proves that such an organization for the worship of Mithras existed among the members of this cohort.

The evidence of the inscriptions is reinforced by Mithraic monuments found at London, Caerleon, York, Rutchester, and Housesteads⁴.

While the evidence now at hand cannot be more than a small fraction of that once available, the preceding examination shows that the cults of Oriental divinities were wide spread in Britain during the second and third centuries of our era. We have been able to prove the existence of five temples: one to Serapis at York, another to Iupiter Dolichenus at Plumptre in Cumberland, and three to Mithras, at the fourth and eighth stations on the wall and at High Rochester in Northumberland; and wherever the Roman troops were quartered Oriental gods apparently had their altars. It is also evident that the cults we have considered were introduced and carried on almost exclusively by the soldiers. In many cases the body of troops to which the dedicator belonged is stated in the inscription or can be determined with a high degree of certainty. But of the entire number of inscriptions only two can be assigned to

¹ *I. c.*, p. 320.

² Cf. Huebner, *CIL.* VII, p. 100 ff.

³ Cf. 964, 965, 966, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1043, 1045, 1046.

⁴ Cumont *I. c.*, p. 389–396. On a supposed Mithraic cave at Wouldham in Kent, cf. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, London, March, 1896.

civilians, probably members of the body or traders that accompanied the legions. This is a striking fact when one considers how large this body must have been.

There is furthermore no evidence that the native Britons were influenced in the slightest degree by the worship of these imported divinities, although the inscriptions show that the soldiers were more susceptible and adopted a number of the local gods¹. In spite of the apparent progress the Romans made in establishing their civilization on the island as early as Agricola's time², they with their gods remained foreigners to their subjects throughout their rule. It was not until Rome's temporal power was gone that her spiritual rule in Britain began.

NOTE TO PAGE 50.

An illustrative parallel to No. 759, quoted p. 50, is found in the *scholia Basileensia* to Germanicus, *Aratea*, p. 65 Br. Hanc (i. e. Virginem) Hesiodus Iovis et Themidis filiam esse dicit nomine Iustitiam, . . . alii dicunt eam esse Cererem, quod spicas teneat, alii Atargatin, alii Fortunam.

This obviously was drawn from the epitome of Eratosthenes' *καταστερισμοί* IX. ταύτην Ἡσίοδος [ἐν Θεογονίᾳ] εἶρηκε θυγατέρα Διὸς καὶ Θέμιδος, καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν Δίκην . . . Λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι λόγοι περὶ αὐτῆς πλείστοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν φασιν εἶναι Δήμητρα διὰ τὸ ἔχειν στάχυν, οἱ δὲ Ἴσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀταργάτιν, οἱ δὲ Τύχην. (Robert *Eratosth.* p. 82 ff., cf. p. 20.) In passing we must note the important fact that neither Hyginus, *Astron.* 2, 25, nor the *scholia Sangermanensia* [G] to Germanicus (p. 125 Br.) mention the identification with Atargatis, while the *scholia Stroziana* [S] (p. 125 Br.) naturally reproduce the full statement of the *scholia Basil.* [B]. Robert (*l. c.*, p. 21 ff.) adduces proof to show that this difference between B and G is due to the fact that G is based on a different version of Eratosthenes' work or of the epitome than that used by the compiler of B. A similar relation must exist between Hyginus and Eratosthenes, even if it be certain, as Robert (*l. c.*, p. 2 f.) holds, that

¹ Cf. Huebner, *Mars Thingsus*, referred to p. 48, and Ihm, *der Mutter- oder Matronenkultus*, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 83 (1887), pp. 1 ff.

² Tac. *Agric.* 21.

Hyginus used a fuller form of Eratosthenes' work than we now possess. While it is probably true that the epitome suffered reduction from time to time, it seems to me more than likely that it has also received additions to its original statements; for example, in the passage quoted above, it is probable to my mind that οἱ δὲ Ἴσιω, οἱ δὲ Ἀταργάτιν were not in the original work or the earliest epitome, and that Hyginus and the *scholia Sangerm.* have preserved the earlier form. These two identifications were added by the pantheistic spirit of a later time. So we find that Avienus, *Aratea*, 282 f., has added an identification of *Virgo* with *Isis*, for which he had no warrant in his original, Aratus, or in his predecessor, Germanicus. Manilius too knows nothing of such identification.

The Syrian Atargatis, who is not to be distinguished from Astarte, was a goddess of conceptive and productive nature, mother earth, essentially identical with the Syrian and Cyprian Aphrodite, the Phrygian Great Mother, and the Greek Πῆα Κυβέλη. Macrobius puts an excellent description of the goddess and the corresponding male divinity, Adad, into the mouth of the learned Praetextatus, *Sat.* 1, 23, 17 ff. : et ne sermo per singulorum nomina deorum vagetur, accipe quid Assyrii de potentia solis opinentur. deo enim quem summum maximumque venerantur, Adad nomen dederunt. eius nominis interpretatio significat unus unus. hunc ergo ut potentissimum adorant deum, sed subiungunt eidem deam nomine Adargatin, . . . , solem terramque intellegentes, etc. The identification of this goddess therefore with the Greek Demeter and the Roman Ceres was natural, and it is interesting to note that the adjective *spicifera* of the inscription gives in brief the regular description of the divinity. Compare for example Aratus, *Phaenom.* 97,

Παρθένον ἧ ῥ' ἐν χερσὶ φέρει στάχυν αἰγλήεντα.

This is reproduced by Germanicus, *Arat.* 96 f.,

Virginis inde subest facies, cui plena sinistra
fulget spica manu maturisque ardet aristis,

and by Avienus, *Arat.* 284-286,

Seu<tu> diva Ceres, sic nam tibi flagrat arista
et, ceu Siriaco, torretur spica calore
protentata manu.

Cf. Manilius, 5, 251 ff.

This Syrian divinity, like the corresponding Phrygian goddess, is *mater divum* = θεῶν μήτηρ, the regular cult name of Rhea (Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 649 Anm. 2 and 3). The parallelism between these nature divinities serves also to illustrate the other attributes named in the inscription. Such goddesses are necessarily conceived as patronesses of agriculture and of the civilization that it makes possible. The familiar Greek examples, Rhea and Demeter, were frequently confused owing to the similarity of their attributes. The Athenian Μήτηρ—undoubtedly equivalent to Rhea—worshipped in the Μητροῶν near the Agora, was almost identical with Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος; and Θεσμοφόρος is represented in the inscription by *iusti inventrix*. (Cf. Eratosthenes' Δίκη and the scholiast's *Iustitia* above.) As such the goddess gives men laws and rules their lives, *lance vitam et iura pensitans*. The further description, *urbium conditrix* (cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 7, 785, *mater turrita*; Ovid, *Fast.* 4, 219, *mater turrigera*) is illustrated by a coin from Africa (*Rev. Numismat.*, 1856, p. 13, 1) on which Astarte is represented wearing the turreted crown. The identification with the Greek ῥύχη made in the epitome of Eratosthenes quoted above gives the source of the scholiast's *Fortunam* (cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte d. Altert.* I, p. 247 f., 250 f., and Meyer's article *Astarte* in Roscher's *Lexikon*). Finally the goddess is identified with *Pax* and *Virtus*, two products of civilized life.

THE FORM OF NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN LATIN

BY GEORGE D. CHASE

THE Indo-European method of forming nominal compounds, by joining stems in such a manner that the last one alone was inflected while the preceding stems were absolutely unchanged, was retained to the latest literary periods in Sanskrit and Greek. It is true that the laws of phonetic combination or formations by the analogy of familiar words or groups of words often operated to change the form of the first member; but nevertheless the original method remained alive in the consciousness of the language, and it was always possible to build such words as *hāsta-kṛta*, *nīti-śāstra*, *prajā-kāma*, *dāsi-putra* or *λογο-γράφος*, *ὠκυ-πέτης*, *νικη-φόρος*.

In Italic the case was different. There the instinct of forming compounds was lost at a very early period. A limited number of the old compounds still existed, but these were rarely taken as patterns for new compounds. In their early Italic form there probably existed such words as **duellō-ger*, **armō-fer*, **agrō-cola*, **causō-dicos*, perhaps beside a still older **causā-dicos*, **hostī-capas*, **pontī-fax*, **cornū-cen*. In a preliterate period the early Italic laws of accent had prevailed to change every short stem vowel before a single consonant to *ī*. The result was that the various vowel stems, whether ending originally in *ō*, *ī*, or *ū*, were all reduced in compounds to the common ending *ī*, and we have for even the preclassical Latin the forms *bellī-ger*, *armī-fer*, *agrī-cola*, *causī-dicus*, *hostī-capas*, *pontī-fex*, *cornī-cen*, etc.

These forms arose by strictly phonetic laws, but they extended their influence analogically to other compounds where the stem vowel stood before two or more consonants. Thus **lecto-sterniom* would regularly give **lectū-sternium*, but we find instead *lectī-sternium*. To the Roman mind it appeared as if all compounds had a common connecting vowel, *-ī-*, which took the place of the stem vowel of the first member. And so, when in the early literary period such authors as Ennius, Livius

Andronicus, and Plautus, who had been educated under Greek influences, attempted to apply to the dawning Latin literature Greek ideas and conceptions and to enrich the scanty Latin vocabulary by new and poetic expressions formed on the model of Greek compounds, they readily coined new Latin compounds, building them without regard to their stem vowel, by means of the connecting vowel *-i-* (*-ū-*). The classical poets, Catullus, Virgil, etc., and also those who belong to the postclassical period, followed in the steps of the early Greek imitators. The great majority of Latin compounds need no further explanation. They are regularly formed by the connecting vowel *-i-* (*-ū-*). They are mainly literary, artificially formed words which arose in the anteclassical or postclassical period. A few examples from the long list sufficiently illustrate the type :

-ō- stems. *Albi-capillus, armi-potens, atri-color, auri-ficina, caeli-cola, centi-manus, galli-cinium, lucri-cupido, meri-bibulus, plani-pes, tyranni-cida, uni-cornis.*

-ā- stems. *Ali-pes, aquili-fer, barbi-tondium, flammi-comus, lani-ger, olli-coquus, silvi-cola, tubi-cen.*

-ī- stems. *Aedi-fex* (?), *angui-comus, avi-pes, igni-color, fidi-cen, imbri-fer, muni-cipium, omni-genus, tri-dens.*

-ū- stems. *Arci-tenens, corni-cen, geli-cidium, lucti-fer, mani-festus.*

Before labials or *l*, short unaccented vowels were reduced to a sound intermediate between *u* and *i*, which was sometimes written *u* and sometimes *i*. In compounds which belong exclusively to the literary language the connecting vowel before labials and *l* is written *i* with the greatest regularity; nor is any distinction made if the second member begins with two or more consonants. Thus we find the following groups written only with *i* :

ō f. *Signi-fer, saxi-fragus, sereni-ficus, aequi-formis, amoeni-fer, blandi-fluus, multi-folius.*

ō b. *Multi-bibus, pexi-barbus, vini-bua.*

ō m. *Aequi-manus, multi-meter, multi-modus, uni-mamma.*

ō p. *Aheni-pes, aequi-par, agri-peta, alti-pendulus, atri-plex, armi-potens.*

ō v. *Alti-volans, aequi-vocus, lustrivagus, multi-vira, multi-volus.*

- ō- l. *Aequi-lavium, alti-loquium, astri-lucus, auri-legulus, blandi-loquus, pleni-lunium, recti-lineus.*
- ā- f. *Aqui-fuga, aquili-fer, creti-fodina, flammi-fluus, silvi-fragus.*
- ā- m. *Aqui-manile, stelli-micans, aqui-minarium.*
- ā- p. *Ali-pilus, ali-pes, flammi-potens, lani-pendia, scrofi-pascus.*
- ā- v. *Aqui-vergium, areni-vagus, flammi-vomus, nugi-vendus.*
- ā- l. *Aqui-legus, tubi-lustrum.*
- ā- b. *Fundi-balus.*
- ī- f. *Febri-fugia, aedi-fex, hosti-fer, mortī-fer, navi-fragus, omni-formis.*
- ī- b. *Fusti-balus.*
- ī- m. *Angui-manus, dulci-modus, omni-modus, pari-membre.*
- ī- p. *Agili-pennis, angui-pes, igni-potens, omni-pavus, tri-pes.*
- ī- v. *Carni-vorus, celeri-volus, igni-vagus, omni-vomus, omni-vorus.*
- ī- l. *Brevi-loquens, grandī-loquus, suavi-ludius, turpi-lucrus, ventri-loquus.*
- ū- f. *Aesti-fer, corni-frons, flucti-vagus, sensi-ficus.*
- ū- p. *Arci-potens, corni-pes, domi-porta, mani-pulus.*
- ū- v. *Flucti-vagus.*
- ū- l. *Risi-loquium, sensi-locus.*

The majority of these words first came into existence on paper. They were manufactured by literary men who had a very clear conception of a universal connecting vowel and so wrote *i* in all cases. Many of these words never extended to common speech. Those that did must have followed the tendency of the language and developed the intermediate *ū*, although the habit of spelling them with *i* prevailed.

A number of the older and commoner compounds, with a few of the postclassical, show, as we might expect, either *i* or *u* in the sources, as follows :

ō. *Centu-plex, centu-plus, locu-ples.* In these words the *u* is prevailing, being strengthened by the consonant group *pl*. *Centi-peda*, but *centu-peda* in Isidore. *Pannu-vellium* (Varr. *L. L.* 5, 114) ; *sacri-ficus*, but *sacru-fico* in the codd. of Plautus ; *Crassu-pes, auru-fex, magnu-fice* (Plaut.), *oinu-mama* (*CIL.* I, 1501).

ā. *Tubu-lustrum* (Varro, Ovid).

ī. *Acru-folius* (Cato, *R. R.* 31), *carnu-fex* (Plaut.), *pontu-fex*.

ũ. *Quadru-plex*, always with *u*, before *pl*; *quadru-vium*, *quadru-manis*, *quadru-pes*, *acu-pedius*, *manu-ballista*, *manu-pretium*, *manu-festus*, *manu-plaris* (Plaut.) before *pl*, but never **manupulus*, *cornu-peta*, *Cornu-ficia* (CIL. I, 1087). In late Latin we find the forms *manu-tergium* (Isid.), *manu-tigium* (Cael. Aur.). These words may be developed from the phrases *manum tegere*, *manū tangere* and may contain in the first member not a stem but a case. Georges (*Lexicon*) writes them *manū-*, inferring that the *-ū-* is long.

Haru-spex always appears with *u* except in Vell. Long. 73, 9, K., *ari-spex*. The first member seems to be a *-u* stem in Latin, although other languages have a different stem formation, if the word is rightly compared with Skt. *hirā*, Gk. *χορδή*, Lith. *žárna*. We have then in *haru-spex* a single instance where analogy did not prevail to change all short stem vowels to *i* before two consonants: **lecto-sterniom* became *lecti-sternium*, but *haru-spex* was unchanged; cf. *exti-spex*.

Many stems in *-ō*, *-ā* end in *-ō* in the first member of compounds. These are clearly imitations of Greek formation. Many of them have Greek words for the first or second member of the compound, as (*-ō* stems) *crypto-porticus*, *holo-vitreus*, *holo-sericus*, *hymno-dicus*, *protolapsus*, *Pseudo-cato*, *drillo-pota*, *auto-genitor*, *dextro-cherium*, *lino-stemus*, *tracto-galatus*, *sago-chlamys*, *austro-africus*, *euro-aquilo*, *euro-auster*; (*-ā* stems) *blatto-sericum*, *tramo-sericus*, *copto-placenta*, *satiro-graphus*, *scytalo-sagitti-ger*. Others have arisen through connection with this group or by other forms of contact with the Greek. There already existed in Latin an *uni-mamma*, but Plautus, *Curc.* 445, coined by Greek rules a comic *Uno-mammia* in order to give a more foreign flavor to the word. Other examples of Greek imitations are (*-ō* stems) *albo-galerus*, *albo-gilvus*, *anulo-culter*, *mulo-medicus*, *carro-ballista*, *masculo-femina*, *sexcento-plagus*, *astro-lapsus*, *avo-nomicus*, *Gallo-graecia*, *Aheno-barbus*; (*-ā* stems) *tunico-pallium*, *cero-ferrarius*, *vio-curus*. The form *limo-cinctus* (Orell. *inscr.* 3219) may be understood as *limō cinctus*.

Sacro-sanctus is not properly a compound. As a dvandva compound it would stand quite isolated in Latin. It is written in Pliny, *N. H.* 7, 143, *sacroque sanctus*, which makes it quite clear that the word was really *sacrō sanctus*.

The name *Asiā-genes* is purely Greek in its formation.

Rectā-gonum is due entirely to the influence of *heptā-gonum*, *hexā-gonum*, etc.

The final stem vowel underwent elision before an initial vowel of the second member. -ō stems: *aequ-aevus*, *aequ-animis*, *anim-aequus*, *August-amica*, *cent-oculus*, *domin-aedius*, *flex-animus*, *long-aevus*, *long-animis*, *magn-animus*, *mult-angulus*, *prim-aevus*, *prim-ordium*, *pusill-animis*, *salm-acidus*, *sicc-oculus*, *un-animus*, *un-oculus*, *quadr-angulum*, *somn-ambulus*, *rem-ex*, *soll-ers*, *soll-ernis*, *mon-oculus*, *Lup-erca*, *advers-itor*, *mult-icius*, *fic-edula*, *querqu-edula*, *agr-edula*, *mon-edula*, *nit-edula*. These last are names of birds, in which -*edula* seems to have grown to be a suffix for forming bird names. *Fic-ēd-ula* means 'little fig eater', and may be compared with the Lithuanian *pelėda*, 'owl', lit. 'mouse eater', and with the Old Slavic *medv-ědi*, 'bear', lit. 'honey eater'. *Ment-agra*, a disease of the chin, seems to be formed in imitation of the Greek *ποδ-άγγρα*, *χειρ-άγγρα*, etc. -ā stems: *aqu-agium*, *cox-endix*, *cur-agulus*, *cur-agendarius*, *lan-oculus*. -i stems: *ax-ungia*, *dulc-acidus*, *grand-aevus*, *fun-ambulus*, *vit-arefer*, *nav-igium* (but see *navis* below). -u stems: *dom-usio*.

In monosyllabic stems the vowel was kept before another vowel, hence regularly *bi-ennium*, *tri-ennium*, *tri-angulus*. By the direct analogy of these forms were derived *quadri-ennium*, and the compounds of *angulus* found in the Latin writers on surveying, as *acuti-angulus*, *aequi-angulus*, *directi-angulus*, *multi-angulum*, *obtus-angulus*, *recti-angulus*, *quadri-angulus*, beside *quadr-angulum*. So also *tri-eris* was the model for *quadri-eris*. The words *levi-animus* and *mari-ambulus* are late forms.

Syncopation under favoring circumstances took place regularly in the older compounds. -ō stems: *for-ceps* < **formi-ceps*, *prin-ceps* < **primi-ceps*, *vin-demia*, *puer-pera*. -i stems: *au-ceps* < **avi-ceps*, *au-spex* < *avi-spex*, *au-gur* (?), *O-pilio* < **ovi-pilio*. -u stems: *man-ceps*, *man-sues*, *mal-luvium* < **manu-luvium*, *man-tele*. But see Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, p. 458, where from the Umbr. acc. pl. *manf* a stem *man-* is inferred for the Italic.

Stems in -*ro-* following a consonant at first lost the -*o* by syncope. There then arose vocalic *ɜ* which developed into *er*. **Sacro-dos* > **sacr-dos* > *sacer-dos*. So also *alter-plex* (Paul. ex Fest. 7, 14 M.)

beside the later formed *altri-plex* (Placid. *Gloss.* 13, 3), *agri-cola*, *sacri-fex*, etc.

When, in compounds, a number of syllables of similar sound follow in succession, one is apt to fall out. Thus *scrupeda* < **scrupi-peda*, from *scrupus* and *pes*; *gemi-pomus* < **gemini-pomus* (but cf. below *homi-cida*); *umbraticola* < **umbratici-cola*, from *umbraticus* and *colo* (Plaut. *Truc.* 587); *centenodius* < **centeni-nodius*, *veneficus* < **venenificus*, *semodius* < **semi-modius*, *semestris* < **semi-mestris*.

-io, -iā stems in compounds end in a single *i*. -io stems: *anxi-fer*, *gaudi-vigens*, *laserpici-fer*, *medi-lunia*, *medi-terraneus*, *mendaci-loquus*, *negoti-nummius*, *offici-perda*, *sandali-gerula*, *terti-ceps*. -iā stems: *glori-ficus*, *sapienti-potens*, *stiri-cidium*. This -i remains even before an initial vowel, as in *anxi-animus*, *Medi-amna* beside *Med-amna*.

Greek influence appears in the following: -io stems: *Vergilio-cento*, *Vergilio-mastix*, *Claudio-polis*, *tertio-cerius*, *socio-fraudus*, and with vowel weakening *sociu-fraude* (Plaut. *Pseud.* 362, cod. A), *graju-gena*. -iā stems: *vio-curus*, *Trojū-gena*, *Maju-gena*. Possibly *vitū-pero* derives its first member from *vitium* and changes the *i* to *u* through the influence of the following labial. The compounds of *alius* have the stem *ālī-*, as *ali-quis*, *ali-quando*, *ali-ubi*, *ali-cubi*, etc.

The *i* that appears in these -io, -iā compounds does not arise from contraction or syncopation, but is the weak ablaut grade of the suffix -iō. The -iā stems were treated exactly like the -iō stems, so that we have really only one case to consider in compounds. The weak ablaut grade of -iō had two forms, -ī and -ĩ. It is not at all made out under what conditions we have one or the other in Latin. Thus in -iō verbs we find *cup-ī-s* with the short -ĩ, but *fīs* < **bh(u)-ī-s* with the long -ī. In nominal stems we have the short -ĩ in old Lat. *al-ī-s*, *al-ī-d*, *Cornel-ī-s*, in personal names, as *Manlius* < **Man-ī-lius* from *Manius*, and the long -ī in the voc. *filī*, *Cornelī*, etc., in personal names, as *Manī-lius*, *Servī-lius*, *Lucī-lius*, from *Manius*, *Servius*, *Lucius*. That is, the long and short -i forms seem to run parallel in both verbs and nouns. In compounds the same condition of things is apparent. We have the short -ĩ from -iō stems in *ālī-quis*, *anxi-fer*, *offici-perda*, etc.; from -iā stems in *stiri-cidium*, *glori-ficus*, etc.; and the long -ī from -iō stems in *meri-dies* < **medi-dies* (cf. Stolz, *Hist. Gram.* p. 233), and from -iā stems in *tibi-cen* from *tibia*.

A single *-uo* stem occurs in compounds: *liti-cen*, from *lituus*. The form *liti-cen* could not arise phonetically from **litui-cen*. It is perhaps possible that the *-i-* represents an older *-ŭ-* which was the weak ablaut grade of the suffix *-uo*, corresponding to the weak grade *-i* of the *-io* suffix.

From stems in *-eo* are formed under the accent *dei-ficus*, *dei-fer*, *dei-cida*, *dei-para*. Further, from *caduceus* we have *caduci-fer* by the analogy of *-ō* stems.

Aurigae from *aurea* is probably formed from the analogy of *bigae* < **bi-jigae* < **bi-jūgae*, from which were also formed *trigae* and *quadrigae* beside the later forms *bi-jugis*, *tri-jugis*, *quadri-jugis*.

Other vowel stems are *nau-fragus*, *nav-igium*, from **naus* > *navis*; *sū-cerdae* from *sūs*, and perhaps *jū-glans*. Further, *faci-tergium*, from *facies* by analogy of the *-i* stems; *bū-caeda*, *bū-cina* beside the late formation by analogy of the consonant stems, *bov-i-cidium*. The forms *bubsequa* and *bussequa* which are found in late Latin are uncertain. The first member *bū-* with the meaning 'great', as in *bū-mammus*, is borrowed from the Greek.

The connecting vowel *-i* which started from vowel stems extended to consonant stems. It was invariably used throughout the literary period of Latin in forming compounds of consonant stems and is lacking only where contraction afterwards took place or in words formed at an earlier stage of the language before the connecting vowel had come into use. Examples of consonant stems with the connecting vowel are as follows:

-n stems: *imagin-i-fer*, *germin-i-seca*, *aquilon-i-gena*, *Aniēn-i-cola*.

-s stems: *aer-i-pes*, *crur-i-crepida*, *flor-i-legus*, *jur-i-dicus*, *lar-i-fuga*, *mor-i-gerus*, *nemor-i-cultrix*, *or-i-ficium*, *plur-i-laterus*, *ror-i-fluus*, *rur-i-cola*, *tur-i-legus*, *vener-i-vagus*, *calor-i-ficus*, *honor-i-ficus*, *odor-i-fer*, *pudor-i-color*.

-r stems: *āer-i-vagus*, *fratr-i-cida*, *patr-i-cida*.

-l stems: *fell-i-ducus*, *mell-i-fer*, *mell-i-fluus*, *sol-i-fuga*, *sol-i-gena*.

-v (< *ghu*) stems: *niv-i-fer*.

-p stems: *dap-i-fer*, *op-i-fex*, *op-i-tulus*, *Op-i-gena*, *op-i-parus*.

-b stems: *urb-i-capus*, *urb-i-cremus*, *urb-i-gena*.

-*t* stems: *capit-i-lavium*, *dent-i-fricium*, *font-i-cola*, *infant-i-cida*, *lact-i-color*, *lit-i-ger*, *Mart-i-cultor*, *mont-i-vagus*, *noct-i-luca*, *pult-i-fagus*, *salut-i-fer*, *sort-i-lator*, *trident-i-potens*.

-*d* stems: *fraud-i-ger*, *frond-i-comus*, *gland-i-fer*, *hered-i-peta*, *lapid-i-cinae*, *palud-i-cola*, *pecud-i-fer*, *ped-i-sequus*.

-*c* stems: *calc-i-fraga*, *cruc-i-fer*, *falc-i-fer*, *fallac-i-loquus*, *luc-i-fer*, *nuc-i-fer*, *nuc-i-fragibulum*, *pac-i-ficus*.

-*g* stems: *frug-i-legus*, *leg-i-fer*, *reg-i-fugium*.

This extension of the connecting vowel to consonant stems was aided by the confusion of *-i* and consonant stems in Latin. Many of the words listed above as consonant stems may have been inflected as *-i* stems at the time the compounds were formed. Such words were *nox*, *sors*, *salus*, *heres*, *calx*, *palus*, etc. When these took on, in whole or in part, the forms of consonant stems, the old *-i* stem vowel that was kept in their compounds was no longer regarded as the stem vowel, but as a connecting vowel, and on the analogy of *nocti-luca*, *sorti-lator*, etc., were formed compounds of any consonant stem by means of an apparently similar connecting vowel *i*.

Before labials and *l* the connecting vowel appears as *u* in *noctu-vigila* (Plaut. *Curc.* 196), *noctu-lucus* (Varr. *L. L.* 5, 99), for which Müller reads *noctu lucuque*. Otherwise we have *nocti-luca* in Varro and Horace.

Before an initial vowel the connecting vowel is not used: *jur-gium* from *jus agere*, cf. *jurgo*, old Lat. *jurigo* (Plaut. *Merc.* 118, *jurigandum in via*); *lit-igium*, *dent-harpago*.

There was a tendency in Latin to form vowel stems directly from the nominative of nouns that were consonant stems. This occurred particularly when the nominative resembled that of vowel stems. Thus from *vulnus*, which in the nominative resembles *vulgus*, we find *vulni-ficus* in Virgil and Ovid, *vulni-fer* in Prudentius. Similarly from *-s* stems, *Velli-ger* from *vellus* (Arat. *progn.*), *foedi-fragus* from *foedus*, Cic. *de Off.* 1, 38; Mart. Cap. 9, 912; cf. Gell. 19, 7, 5, *hostes qui foedera frangerent* "*foedi-fragos*" non "*foederi-fragos*" dixit (Lælius); *cini-flo*, *-ōnis* from *cinis*, *cineris*, Hor. *Sat.* 1, 2, 98; *cinē-factus*, Lucr. 3, 904. The *e* is written in this word by the analogy of the many compounds with *facio* of verbs in *-eo*, as *calē-facio*, *candē-facio*, *cavē-*

facio, *putrē-facio*, *stupē-facio*, *tepē-facio*, etc., following which were also formed *domē-factus* from *domare*, *tremē-facio*, *incendē-facio*, *labē-facio*, and the derivatives from adjectives (-o stems) *maturē-facio*, *obdurē-facio*, *obscurē-facio*, *purē-facio*, *frigidē-facio*; (-i stems) *pinguē-facio*. Compounds of -*ficus*, on the contrary, were made with -*i* from verbs in -*eo*, as *ari-ficus*, *augi-fico*. Beside most of these verbs in -*eo* stood nouns in -*or*, as *algi-ficus* from *algeo*, beside which stood *algor*; *candi-ficus* from *candeo*: *candor*; *horri-ficus* from *horreo*: *horror*; *terri-ficus*, *splendi-ficus*, etc. In course of time the compounds became as much identified with the nouns in -*or* as with the verbs in -*eo*. Hence, finally, new compounds were formed from nouns in -*or* even when no verb in -*eo* existed. Thus from *rumor* was made *rumi-fico*, *rumi-gero* although no **rumeo* was known.

Also from the nominative are formed *aegi-sonus*, from *aegis*, -*idis*; *iri-color* from *iris*, -*idis*, but Virg. *Aen.* 4, 694, has *Irim*; *lapi-cida* from *lapis*, -*idis* (Varr., Liv.), *lapi-cidinae* (Plaut., Cic., Plin., etc.), cf. *lapio*, 'turn to stone' (Pacuv. *frag. trag.* 276), *lapidicinae* (Varr. *L. L.* 5, 151, etc.). This latter form may stand for *lapidicinae* by an interchange of syllables or both forms may have started from the regularly formed but clumsy **lapidi-cidinae*. *Volupti-ficus* (Apul.) is from the nominative *voluptas*, *nutri-fico* (Anecd. Helv.) from the nominative *nutrix* aided by the verb *nutrio*, *muri-legulus* (Cod. Just.) from *murex*. Here belongs also the doubtful *sala-puttium* (Catull. 53, 5) from *salax* (?).

Remains of a more original method of composition, where the simple consonant stem was combined directly with the second member, are found in a number of Latin words. There is always the possibility that the connecting vowel has been syncopated in these, and indeed it is sometimes actually found in older forms. Thus *of-ficina* in Cicero appears as *opi-ficina* in Plautus. We cannot be sure that in *nau-fragus* we are dealing with the original stem *nau-* or the later stem *navi-* with syncope.

Examples of dental stems that may never have had a connecting vowel are *pel-luviae* < **ped-luviae* (cf. *sella* < **sed-la*, *ralla* < **rad-la*), *cor-dolium* < **cord-dolium*, *cor-tumio* < **cord-tumio*.

The following -*s* stems are most probably old: *jū-dex* < **jous-dex* (cf. *nīdus* < **nizdus*) < **jous-dex*; *ju-stitium* < **jus-stitium*, beside

the late formation *juri-dicus*; *mus-cipula*, *mus-corda*, *mas-carpio*, *aes-timo*, *Aes-culanus* (August. *Civ. Dei*, 4, 21), the god of Roman bronze or copper money, from *aes* and *colo*.

-*l* stems: *sol-sequia*, *sol-stitium*.

-*r* stems: *iter-duca* (August. *Civ. Dei*, 7, 3, 1) a surname of Juno; *asse-folium* (Apul. *Herb.* 77) < **asser-folium* (?) from *asser*, *asseris*, 'a thick stalk'.

-*n* stems: *nomen-clator*. -*n* stems had in Latin an alternate stem in -*ō*; hence *homi-cida* < **homō-cida*. This form may have influenced the form of the word *gemi-pomus* for **gemini-pomus*. *Nun-cupo* < **nomi-cupo* < **nomō-cupo*; *arundi-fer* from *arundo*, -*inis*. Perhaps a similar formation in -*ō* is at the bottom of the group *latrō-cinium*, *lenō-cinium*, *ratio-cinium*, *sermō-cinor*, *tirō-cinor*. In these words the unexplained -*cinium* seems to have sunk to the force of a suffix.

Stru-fertarii (Fest. p. 295, M.) has to be considered in connection with *struere*, *struxi*, *structus*; *struēs*, -*is*, *struix*, -*icis*; *in-strū-mentum*. *Struxi* and *structus* point to a root ending in a guttural. In Latin, roots ending in a guttural appear to be very frequently extended by the addition of an *s*, *lūna* < **lūsna*, *tēla* < **texla*, *jūmenta* < *jouxmenta* (Lapis Niger). Before certain consonants, as *m*, *n*, *l*, *f*, the group *cs* was simplified. The guttural was first dropped, after which the *s* disappeared and the vowel of the root, if not already long, was lengthened. Thus *jouxmenta* > **jousmenta* > *jūmenta*; **loucsna* > *losna* (Praeneste) > *lūna*; *ecsfero* > **esfero* > *effero*. If we assume for *struo* a root *strugh** we can account for the forms we find built from it. Between vowels *gh** became *v*, as in *nivem*, nom. *nix*, root *neigh**. Hence **strugh*o* > **struvo* > *struo*, by the same simplification of *uv* > *u* as occurs in *fluo* < **fluvo*, root **bhlehugh**, beside *fluxi*, *fluctus*; and *fruor* < **fruvor*, beside *fructus*. The noun formed from the root **strugh** was apparently in early Latin **strux*, **struvis*, etc., like *nix*, *nivis* from the root *neigh**. From this the *v* dropped out as in *struere*, leaving *struis*, *struem*, and from these forms was made a new nom. sing. *strues*. The gen. pl. *struum* which sometimes occurs is a remnant of the old consonant stem inflection. The anteclassical *struix*, *struicis* represents merely another form in which the original inflection **strux*, **struvis* was corrupted. From **strux* was made the compound **strux-ferarii* > *strū-fertarii*.

Pedēplana (Cod. Theod. 7, 8, 13), 'parterre', is not a compound in the strict sense, but contains an ablative case and stands for the phrase (*terra*) *pede plana*.

Opiter is not, as it has often been understood, composed of *avus* and *pater*, and hence from **avi-pater*. Its exact formation is uncertain, but it seems most likely that the root *op* which we have in *ops*, *opitulus*, *Opita*, etc., lies at the bottom of it.

There remain to be considered a number of compounds formed with numerals as the first member. These stand so isolated in form that we can do little more than cite the forms that actually occur.

Beside Indo-Europ. **dvi* > Lat. *bi-*, in *bi-pes*, *bi-libra*, *bi-sellium*, *bi-ennium*, *bimus* < **bi-himus*, *bīgae* < *bi-jugae*, etc., occurs the Ital. *du-* in *du-centi*, *du-plex*, *du-pondium* or *di-pondium*, *du-bius*, etc. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, 59, explains *du-* as a later formation on the analogy of *quadru-* in *quadru-pes*, *quadru-plex*, etc. *Bī-duum* contains an old dual **dvī*.

Tres has a stem *tri-* in *tri-dens*, *tri-ceps*, *tri-vium*, *tri-ennium*, *tri-angulus*, *trīmus* < **tri-himus*, *trīgae* < **tri-jugae*, beside the later *tri-jugis*; *tres* has also an old stem *trē-* in *tre-centi* (cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, 470). *Tri-duum*, *trī-ginta* are either by the analogy of *bī-duum*, *vī-ginti*, or contain an old nom. neut. pl. *trī*.

Quattuor has the form *quadru-* in the compounds *quadru-pes*, *quadru-plex*, *quadru-plus*, *quadru-vium*, *quadri-dens*, *quadri-ennium*, *quadrīmus* < **quadri-himus*, *quadrīgae* following *bīgae*, *trīgae* beside the later *quadri-jugis*. *Quadrā-ginta* stands for **qetuḡ-*. *Quadrīngenti* is instead of *quadru-*, following *septīngenti* (cf. *Grundriss*, II, 504).

Quinque remains in its original form in *quinque-folius*, *quinque-genus*, *quinque-jugus*, *quinque-remis*. The *-ē* becomes *-ī* in *quīquī-fidus*, *quīquī-partes*, and *-ū* in *quīncu-plex*, *quīncu-pedal*, and drops out before initial vowels in *quīnc-unx*, *quīncu-ennis*, *quīncu-ertium*. *Quīnquā-ginta* borrows its *ā* from *quadrā-ginta*, as do also *sexā-ginta*, *septuā-ginta*, *nonā-ginta*.

Sex remains unchanged before vowels in *sex-ennium*. **Sex-centi* was simplified to *ses-centi* and later another *sex-centi* was formed. Before other consonants *sex* loses both its final consonants, as *sē-decim*, *sē-jugis*, *sē-digitus*, *sē-mestris*, *sē-pes*.

Octo has *octō-* in *octō-jugis*, *octō-minutalis*, and **octō-* in *octi-pes*, *octu-plex*, *oct-angulus*, *oct-ennium*.

Mille has *mille-folium* (Plin. *N. H.* 25, 42), but *mīli-folium* (Plin. *N. H.* 24, 152). There also occur *mili-peda* and *mille-peda*, *mille-formis* (Augustin.), *milli-modus* (Ven. Fort.).

-m stems are *sim-plex* and *septem* in *septem-pedalis*, *septem-geminus*. The form *septi-* occurs in classical Latin in *septi-montium* and usually in late Latin, as *septi-collis*, *septi-foris*, *septi-pes*, *septi-remis*, etc. *Decem* is unchanged in *decem-jugis*, *decem-mestris*, *decem-modius*, *decem-peda*, *decem-plex*, *decem-remis*, etc. In *novem*, the *-ove-* becomes *-ō-* in *nōn-genti*, *nōn-ussis*, and *-ū-* in *nūn-dinus*. Following *quingu-ennium* are formed *sept-ennium* (Fest. *septu-ennium*), *nov-ennium*, *dec-ennium*. From *quinc-unx* we have *sept-unx*, *dec-unx*; from *quadru-plus* we have *quingu-plus*, *decu-plus*.

The compounds with *as*, *assis*, have the following forms: 3, *tressis*; 4, *quadrussis* (Mart. Cap.), *quadrassis* (Prisc.); 5, *quinquessis*; 8, *octussis*; 9, *nonussis*; 10, *decussis*; 20, *bicessis*; 30, *trīcessis*; 40, *quadrāgessis*. According to *quingu-essis* are made *tressis*, *bicessis*, *trīcessis*, *quadrāgessis*; from *quadru-ssis* are made *octussis*, *nonussis*, *decussis*. A fuller treatment of the compounds of *as* may be found in Stolz, *Hist. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.* I, pp. 389 ff.

CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS OF THE HOMERIC HYMNS

BY WALTON BROOKS MCDANIEL

AT the present time, when the stackrooms of the larger libraries serve as columbaria for not a few defunct theses dealing with conjectural emendations of Greek texts, a tiro may well feel some hesitation in bringing forward conjectures even in the case of the somewhat less studied Homeric Hymns. There are, however, in these hymns certain places which, starved by successive editors as hopelessly corrupt, cannot fail to challenge the ingenuity of every interested reader of the poems. It is with such passages that the following pages have for the most part to deal. For my manuscript readings I depend upon the edition of Alfred Goodwin.

Let us first consider line 429 in the Hymn to Demeter :

- 426 παίζομεν ἥδ' ἀνθεα δρέπομεν χεῖρεσσ' ἐρόεντα,
427 μίγδα κρόκον τ' ἀγανὸν καὶ ἀγαλλίδας ἥδ' ὑάκινθον,
428 καὶ ῥοδέας κάλυκας καὶ λείρια, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,
429 νάρκισσόν θ', ὃν ἔφυσ' ὥσπερ κρόκον, εὐρεία χθών.

Although Ilgen attempted a defence of the manuscript reading ὥσπερ κρόκον, the consensus of other scholars has declared these words unquestionably corrupt. Accordingly, a score or more of conjectures have been published, from which one might select the ὑπείροχον of Ilgen and the αἰπὴν δόλον of Hermann as perhaps most attractive. The theory, however, has apparently been that the ὥσπερ κρόκον arose from a mere corruption of the letters of the genuine reading. A different explanation of the origin of these two words may be offered. Only a few lines above, as well as in verse 372, we have mention of the ροιῆς κόκκον which Pluto insidiously gave to Persephone. Is it not possible that a gloss ὥσπερ κόκκον once stood above line 429 to express the writer's view that Earth was responsible for the production not only of the narcissus, which had proven such a treacherous plaything

to Persephone, but also of the pomegranate seed, which had completed the girl's misfortune? Traces of such interlinear notes are found elsewhere¹ in the manuscripts of our hymns. A noteworthy instance is in 4, 254, where for *λίκνψ*, manuscripts DLΠ give *κλίνη*, a word which quite probably stood originally as a gloss above the genuine *λίκνψ*. So here the gloss *ὥσπερ κόκκον*, becoming quite easily *ὥσπερ κρόκον* in connection with the immediate context (line 427 *κρόκον*), replaced the true reading. If this hypothesis is sound, we have a wide field for conjecture as to what words are here to be restored. Still we may reasonably hold that the displaced words were not very dissimilar to the gloss itself. Hermann's emendation *αἰπὺν δόλον* not only satisfies this requirement, but is also supported by the similar verse at the beginning of our poem (vs. 8) :

νάρκισσόν θ', ὃν φύσε δόλον καλυκώπιδι κούρη.

With his emendation then we have :

νάρκισσόν θ', ὃν ἔφυσ' αἰπὺν δόλον εὐρέϊα χθών.

For *αἰπὺν δόλον* we may compare 4, 66. Baumeister had independently made the same conjecture and adduces in its support Hesiod, *Theog.* 589. To these passages I add Hesiod, *Op.* 83, and Apollonius Rhodius, 4, 7.

Hymn to Apollo, vss. 56-60 :

*αἰ δέ κ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκαέργον νηὸν ἔχθησθα,
ἀνθρωποὶ τοι πάντες ἀγνήσουσ' ἐκατόμβας
ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρόμενοι, κνίσση δέ τοι ἄσπετος αἰὲ*

χειρὸς ἀπ' ἄλλοτρίης, ἐπεὶ οὐ τοι πῖαρ ὑπ' οὐδας.

The manuscript readings for line 59 may be roughly represented by the following formula :

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \mu & & \xi & & & & \\ \delta\eta\rho\omicron\nu & \alpha\nu\alpha & \epsilon\iota & \beta\omicron\sigma\kappa & \omicron\iota & \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma & \sigma\epsilon\chi\omega\sigma\iota\nu \\ & \kappa\tau & & \epsilon\iota & \theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon & & \end{array}$$

Before the discovery of codex Estensis, emendation was based on the reading *θεοικε*. This manuscript, however, gives us the letters

¹ See Baumeister, ed. maior, p. 9 (on I, 172), and Gemoll, p. 7 (*H. to Apoll.* 151).

περίτας. Hollander¹ has ingeniously conjectured that the περίτας is merely a scribe's statement that about six letters (περὶ τὰ ς') were missing at this point in the manuscript that he was copying, and the corruption at the end of this line does, in fact, seem to be located in the six letters θεοικε, although in two manuscripts of less importance (Γ *man. sec.* and J) these six are replaced by respectively nine (θντας οικε) and ten (δηρα θεοικε) letters. If περίτας is not to be explained in this way, it may represent some form of the adjective περισός or περιττός. I hesitate to add to the many conjectures that have been offered several of my own, although they follow new lines. *E.g.*:

κνίσση δέ τοι ἄσπετος εἶσιν
μήρων ἔξ ἀνακάς βοσκαί τε περισσαὶ ἔωσιν
χειρὸς ἀπ' ἄλλοτρίης.

We might write either μήρων (cf. *Iliad*, 1, 464; *Od.* 13, 26; Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1088) or μηρῶν (cf. Sophocles, *Antig.* 1008 with 1011). We find a somewhat similar passage in Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1517:

οὐδὲ κνίσα μηρίων ἄπο
ἀνῆλθεν.

Cf. also *Iliad*, 8, 549.

The word ἀνακάς (or ἀνεκάς, see Hesych. *s. v.* "Ανακας) would be more likely to cause error than the commoner words ἀνατίζει, ἀτίζει, etc., which have been proposed (cf. Pindar, *Ol.* 2, 38, and Suidas *s. v.* ἀνεκάς). The use of βοσκαί here may be illustrated by Aeschylus, *Eum.* 266, Hesychius, *s. v.* βοσκή, and Aristotle, *H. A.* 9, 40, 624 a, 27. The adjective περισσαί is similarly used in Hesiod, *Theog.* 399; and Athenaeus, 12, 521 C, has βρώμα . . . περιττόν.

In connection with the meaning of these verses we should read lines 53-55:

ἄλλος δ' οὐτις σείο ποθ' ἄψεται οὐδέ σε τίσει,
οὐδ' εὖβων σε ἔσσεσθαι δίομαι οὐτ' εὖμηλον,
οὐδὲ τρύγην πολλήν, οὐτ' ἄρ' φυτὰ μυρία φύσει.

Here an opposite fate is threatened, and we may compare the promise in vss. 56-60, as emended above, that the savor of burning thighs will

¹ Gemoll, p. 131.

go up in abundance and they will have bountiful support at the hands of visiting worshippers, with the like promise made by Apollo to the Cretan sailors (lines 528–539), from which only verses 536–539 need be cited :

τὰ δ' ἄφθονα πάντα παρέσται,
 ὅσσα ἐμοί κ' ἀγάγωσι περικλυτὰ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων.
 νηὸν δὲ προφύλαχθε, δέδεχθε δὲ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων,
 ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρομένων.

Finally, something a little simpler may be proposed for this desperate line :

κνίσση δέ τοι ἄσπετος αἰεὶ
 μῆρων ἔξ εἰσιν βοσκαί τε περισσαὶ ἔωσιν
 χερὸς ἀπ' ἀλλοτρίης,

where possibly *ἔξεωσιν* might be substituted to advantage.

In the Hymn to the Delphian Apollo we have the following passage :

493 (315) ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν ἡρωιδεῖ πόντῳ
 494 (316) εἰδόμενος δελφίνι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς ὄρουσα,
 495 (317) ὥς ἐμοὶ εὐχεσθαι δελφινίῳ· αὐτὰρ ὁ βωμὸς
 496 (318) αὐτὸς δέλφειος καὶ ἐπόψιος ἔσσεται αἰεὶ.

In verse 496 the manuscripts give us, M δελφίνιος, DAOPQ δέλφιος, the others δέλφειος. A change of quantity in the first ι of δελφίνιος would be surprising—cf. δελφίνι (494) and δελφινίῳ (495)—and none of these adjectives seems natural with ἐπόψιος. Of the emendations, some depart too widely from the manuscript tradition (Preller conjectures αὐτοῦ δὴ λιπαρός, Baumeister, αὐτοῦ τηλεφανής), while the adjective ἀφνείος which Ilgen (αὐτόθι ἀφνείος) and Hermann (αὐτίκ' ἄρ' ἀφνείος) use is hardly applicable to the altar.

Palaeographically it would be only a slight change to read :

αὐτὰρ ὁ βωμὸς
 αὐτόδιον φύλιος καὶ ἐπόψιος ἔσσεται αἰεὶ.

Words compounded with αὐτο- as well as αὐτός itself are a frequent source of trouble in manuscripts. See the commentators on 2, 371 ; 2, 412 ; 3, 337 ; 4, 234 ; 4, 406 ; 7, 22. Compared with such com-

pounds as αὐτόθεν, αὐτίκα, παραντίκα, and pápanτα, the word αὐτόδιον¹ is rare and might easily become corrupted. It occurs in the *Odyssey*, 8, 449:

αὐτόδιον δ' ἄρα μιν ταμὴν λούσασθαι ἀνώγει
 ἔς ῥ' ἀσάμινθον βάνθ'.

For the use of φίλιος two passages from Aeschylus might be cited, *Suppl.* 542 (533) and *Choeph.* 715 (719).

It might well be said of the altar at Delphi that it would be 'dear from the beginning and famous forever'.

Further on in this hymn we find another difficult place:

538 (360) νηὸν δὲ προφύλαχθε, δέδεχθε δὲ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων
 539 (361) ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρομένων † καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθὺν τε μάλιστα.
 540 (362) ἥ ἐ τι τῆρσιον ἔπος ἔσσεται ἥ ἐ τι ἔργον,
 541 (363) ὕβρις θ', ἣ θέμις ἐστὶ καταθηγῶν ἀνθρώπων,
 542 (364) ἄλλοι ἐπειθ' ὑμῖν σημάντορες ἄνδρες ἔσονται,
 543 (365) τῶν ὑπ' ἀναγκαίῃ δεδμήσεσθ' ἥματα πάντα.

In connection with the admonition expressed in the last lines of this passage, I have at times thought that something like

 καὶ μὴ ἰθύνετ' ἄλιστοι
 or καὶ μὴ εὐθύνετ' ἄλιστοι

may once have formed the close of line 539: 'be not inexorable in the administration of affairs,' 'be not high-handed in your dealings with the men who gather here.' In Demosth. *contra Mid.*, p. 531, § 52, in the second verse of the oracle we find ἰθύνεθ' ἑορτάς, in Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus*, 83, λαὸν . . . ἰθύνουσιν, and the form ἰθύν' in a different sense in line 421 of our own hymn. In Soph. *Antig.* 178, occurs εὐθύνων πόλιν, in Eurip. *Hec.* 8, λαὸν εὐθύνων. Metrically, too, such a collocation as μὴ ἰθύνετ' may be paralleled many times in the hymns (cf. 3, 16; 7, 24). I may, however, be putting too much strain upon the adjective ἄλιστος. In our hymns it occurs in a different sense,

¹ Cf. the use of *e vestigio* in Latin. Cicero, *Div. in Caecil.* 57; *Sulp.* letter in Cic. *ad Fam.* 4, 12, 2; Eustathius, 1605, 9 and 1562, 37.

4, 168, and the nearest parallel that I can get is in the *Anthol. Pal.* 7, 643, 3, ἤρπασας, ὦ ἄλλιστ' Ἀΐδη (cf. *Anthol. Pal.* 7, 483).¹

It is palaeographically tempting to change only the order of the letters and read :

καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθὺν μάλα τ' ἴστε,

but I doubt if such a use of τε could be justified.² Scarcely more of a change would be καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθὺν μάλα γ' ἴστε, in which μάλα is used much as in verse 502 and in the *Odyssey*, 6, 319; 'and know well my will and purpose' says Apollo. The word ἰθύν is defined by Hesychius, 759, 20 (Schmidt), to mean ὀρθόν, φρόνησιν, τρόπον, ὁρμήν, βούλησιν, διάνοιαν, and appears in the *Odyssey*, 16, 304 :

ἀλλ' οἶοι σύ τ' ἐγώ τε γυναικῶν γνώομεν ἰθύν.

In the immediately following warning of Apollo (verses 540–544) Baumeister and others adopt the simple correction of εἰ δέ τι (line 540) for the ἡέρ', ἡ ἔτι, or ἡ ἔτι of the manuscripts. The still simpler change to ἡέ τι seems impossible unless we assume a lacuna here or make some radical change in the text.

In a passage in the Hymn to Hermes

- 82 τῶν τότε συνδήσας νεοθηλέος ἄγκαλον ὕλης,
 83 εὐλαβέως ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο σάνδαλα κοῦφα
 84 αὐτοῖσιν πετάλοισι, τὰ κύδιμος Ἀργειφόντης
 85 ἔσπασε Πιερίθην ὁδοιπορίην ἀλεείνων
 86 οἷά τ' ἐπειγόμενος δολιχὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοτροπήσας,

the end at least of line 86 is corrupt—where the manuscripts give αὐτοτροπήσας M, Paris., αὐτοπρεπής ὡς DLII ed. pr., αὐτοτροπήσας ὡς E, γρ. αὐτοτροπήσας the margin of L, and αὐτοτροπήσας the margin of Π. The many emendations offered cannot be discussed here. If the beginning of line 86 is corrupt, as has been thought, the sentence

¹ One might think of θηρέετ' ἄλιστοι in connection with *Anthol. Pal.* 5, 293, 12, and in our poem verse 530, καὶ ἄμ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπηδέιν.

² In the *Hymns*, 4, 133, καὶ τε μάλ' ἱμεῖροντι occurs, but there and in Homer, *Il.* 1, 521 and 21, 456, we have a different usage.

may have begun with ὁδοιπορίην δ' ἀλείειν | οἶκαδ'¹ ἐπειγόμενος (Plato, *Theaet.* 142 C, ἡπείγετο οἶκαδε). The words ὁδοιπορίην δ' ἀλείειν would mean 'he avoided travelling by the highway' — that is, Hermes drove the cattle through the fields (cf. line 88) to escape observation. For this meaning of ὁδός in composition, we may compare other compounds such as ὁδοιόκος, ὁδοιοκέω, etc.

I had also thought of reading ὁδοιπορίην δ' ἀλείων and replacing the οἶά τ' of the manuscripts by σεύατ' or ἔσσντ'², the former of which I have since found to be a conjecture of Ludwich (*Berlin. Phil. Wochenschr.*, 1886, p. 807). In the *Iliad*, 6, 505 we have a line beginning σεύατ' ἔπειτ', and in our hymns 5, 66 and 2, 43. Most noteworthy, however, in this connection is the verse in the *Odyssey*, 19, 448, ἔσσντ' ἀνασχόμενος δολιχὸν δόρυ χειρὶ παχείῃ.

Finally, the manuscript reading αὐτοπρεπὴς ὥς suggests the slight change to ἡπεροπεὺς ὥς or ἡπεροπεὺς φῶς (φῶς being a favorite word with the author of this hymn, cf. verses 66, 195, 265, 284, 377, and *Od.* 1, 324) which find support in passages in this hymn :

282 ὦ πέπον, ἡπεροπεντά, δολοφραδές, ἦ σε μάλ' οἶω
and 577 παῦρα μὲν οὖν ὀνίνησι, τὸ δ' ἄκριτον ἡπεροπεύει
νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην φύλα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

To these may be added the lines in the 11th book of the *Odyssey* :

363 ὦ Οδυσσεῦ, τὸ μὲν οὐ τί σ' εἴσκομεν εἰσορόωντες
ἡπεροπῆά τ' ἔμεν καὶ ἐπὶ κλοπῶν οἶά τε πολλοὺς
βόσκει γαῖα μέλαινα πολυσπερέας ἀνθρώπους
ψεύδεά τ' ἀρτύνοντας ὅθεν κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο.

Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, 3, 617.

In the Hymn to Hermes, 151–153,

σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὤμοις εἰλυμένος, ἥντε τέκνον
νήπιον ἐν παλάμῃσι παρ' ἱγνύσι λαΐφος ἀθύρων,
κέιτο, χέλυν ἐρατὴν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς ἔεργων,

¹ For οἶκαδ' the word οἶκον might be suggested, as more likely to have caused an error (cf. *Odyssey*, 14, 167 and 23, 27).

² The verb occurs in our hymns 4, 299; 2, 287.

verse 152 offers a grammatical impossibility, *λαῖφος ἀθύρων*. Before an attempt is made to correct these words, an examination of the part that the swaddling bands play in this hymn is advisable. In the case of this young god these clothes are apparently loose and ample, for on Apollo's entrance into the cave we are told that Hermes 'retired within his fragrant swaddling bands':

- 237 σπάργαν' ἔσω κατέδυνε θυήεντ'· ἥυτε πολλὴν
 238 πρέμνων ἀνθρακίην ὕλης σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει,
 239 ὣς Ἑρμῆς Ἑκάεργον ἰδὼν ἀνέειλε ἔ' αὐτόν.
 240 ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ συνέλασσε κάρη χεῖράς τε πόδας τε,
 241 † θῆρα νέον λοχάων, προκαλεύμενος ἡδυμον ὕπνον
 242 ἐγρήσσω ἐτεόν γε· χέλυν δ' ὑπὸ μασχάλῃ εἶχεν.

But the *σπάργανα* did not serve Hermes merely as a safe retreat on the approach of danger. In the last line we have mention of the lyre, the importance of which in the story has been first fully noted in the edition of Gemoll. Here Hermes hides it under his armpit, and in verses

- 305 ἄμφω δὲ παρ' οὐατα χερσὶν ἑώθει
 306 σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἐλμένον, εἶπε δὲ μῦθον,

he pushes his clothing up round his ears, and in

- 388 καὶ τὸ σπάργανον εἶχεν ἐπ' ὠλένῃ οὐδ' ἀπέβαλλε,

in the presence of Zeus, he keeps it wrapped round his arm for no other purpose, I am sure, than to conceal more effectually the lyre on which his ultimate safety depends. In

- 266 οὐτ' ἐμὸν ἔργον τοῦτο, πάρος δέ μοι ἄλλα μέμηλεν·
 267 ὕπνος ἔμοιγε μέμηλε καὶ ἡμετέρης γάλα μητρός,
 268 σπάργανά τ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἔχειν καὶ θερμὰ λοετρά,

the full humor has perhaps escaped the commentators. To keep his armpit well covered was, indeed, one of the vital cares of Hermes' young life.

To return now to lines 150 ff., I think that this precocious baby was groping with his hands for the clothing round his knees when his mother discovered that he had returned to his crib. Therefore, I propose the following reading¹ for these verses:

¹ The reading *περιγνώσι* of the better MSS. might be taken as an indication of an original *νήπιον ἐν παλάμῃ περι γνῶσι*.

- 150 ἐσσυμένως δ' ἄρα λίκνον ἐπώχετο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς,
 151 σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὤμοις εἰλυμένος, ἥντε τέκνον
 152 νήπιον ἐν παλάμῃσι παρ' ἰγνύσι λαίφεα θηρῶν¹
 153 κείτο, χέλυν ἑρατὴν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς ἑέργων,
 154 μητέρα δ' οὐκ ἄρ' ἔληθε θεὸν θεός, ἐπέ τε μῦθον·

In connection with this passage line 241 is of interest :

- 240 ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ συνέλασσε κάρη χεῖράς τε πόδας τε,
 241 † θῆρα νέον λοχάων, προκαλούμενος ἡδυμον ὕπνον
 242 ἐγρήσσω ἐτεόν γε·

I incline to agree with Gemoll that the νεόλλουτος which appears in the text of our mss. is merely a scribe's² correction, and we have to depend here as in 288 on a marginal reading. What θῆρα νέον λοχάων represents, is, however, a mystery. I have at times fancied that the line may have once begun θηρῶν ὃν λαίφος. If some knowing scribe, wishing to express the fact that Hermes' swaddling clothes served as a sort of ambush, inserted a gloss ἐὼν λοχέον over the words ὃν λαίφος, (^{ἐὼν λοχέον} θηρῶν ὃν λαίφος) the combination might eventually have given rise by the common process of substitution³ to θῆρα νέον λοχάων (λοχεύων in II). Still a knowledge of the Hesiodic⁴ word λοχέος is perhaps too much to ascribe to the writer of our archetype.

Again, in the Hymn to Hermes, we read :

- 185 αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων
 186 Ὀγχηστόνδ' ἀφίκανε κίων, πολυήρατον ἄλσος
 187 ἀγνὸν ἐρισφαράγου Γαιόχου· ἔνθα γέροντα
 188 κνώδαλον εὔρε νέμοντα παρέξ ὁδοῦ ἔρκος ἀλωῆς·

Gemoll's change of κνώδαλον to κνωδάλῳ is easy, but does not give a satisfactory meaning to the line.

¹ The vowels η and υ are constantly interchanged; cf. 3, 519; 4, 565. For θηρῶν cf. Lucian, *Dial. Mar.* 2, 3, § 293.

² In the light of verse 406 we might have looked for a νεογνὸς ἐὼν from him.

³ Cf. mss. at 4, 254; 4, 360.

⁴ Hesiod, *Theog.* 178.

The word is normally employed for wild beasts or for animals as yet unbroken to the service of man¹. Here, however, there can be no connotation of ferocity, and one might well ask why in 'grassy' Onchestos the old man is feeding his cow on a hedge. Now a consideration of the epithet βατοδόρπε points to a simple emendation. I believe that the old man was building a hedge of thorns, and I would read here σκώλους. This word, similarly to the Latin *sudis*, means not only 'stakes', but also 'thorn branches'. Cf. *Iliad*, 13, 564 :

καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέιν' ὥς τε σκῶλος πυρίκανστος
ἐν σάκει Ἀντιλόχοιο, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ κείτ' ἐπὶ γαίης.

Aristophanes, *Lys.* 809 :

Τίμων ἦν τις αἰδρυτος ἀβάτοισιν ἐν
σκώλοισι τὰ πρόσωπα περιεργμένος
Ἐρινύος ἀπορρώξ.

On this we have the explanation of the scholiast (Rutherford's ed., II, 216), ἐν σκώλοισι οἶον ἀκάνθαις τετριγχωμένος σκληρός; and in Hesychius and Suidas a definition of σκῶλος as ἀκάνθης εἶδος. The verb νέμειν seems² to be properly used here for the construction of a hedge out of its component parts, and perhaps the easy change to δέμοντα is not necessary. With this passage should be compared *Odyssey*, 18, 359, but especially 24, 223 ff., where there are striking resemblances to our lines :

ἀλλ' ἄρα τοί γε
αἵμασιās λέξοντες ἀλωῆς ἔμμεναι ἔρκος
ῥχοντ', αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι γέρων ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευε
τὸν δ' οἶον πατέρ' εὖρεν ἐνκτιμένη ἐν ἀλωῇ
λιστρεύοντα φυτόν· ῥυπώοντα δὲ ἔστο χιτῶνα
ῥαπτὸν δεικέλιον, περὶ δὲ κνήμησι βοείας
κνημίδας ῥαπτὰς δέδετο, γραπτῶς ἀλεείνων
χευρίδας τ' ἐπὶ χερσὶ βάτων ἔνεκ'.

¹ As indeed in the very passage from Aeschylus which Gemoll cites: *Prom.* 478 (462).

² Cf. Matth. ed. of the Homeric hymns, p. 253.

The word *αἵμασις* is, to be sure, of disputed meaning. Ameis, in his notes on this passage (p. 182), renders it 'Dornsträuche,' cf. Nicander, *Ther.* 143, with the paraphrase of Eutechnius of this line, p. 222, 27 (Dübner).

Hymn to Hermes :

- 322 αἶψα δὲ τέρθρον ἵκοντο θνώδεος Οὐλύμποιο
 323 ἐς πατέρα Κρονίωνα Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα·
 324 κείθι γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισι δίκης κατέκειτο τάλαντα.
 325 εὐμυλίη δ' ἔχ' Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον, ἀθάνατοι δὲ
 326 ἄφθιτοι ἡγέρεθοντο μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἧῶ.

An examination of the whole scene here leads me to propose a new emendation for the corrupt word *εὐμυλίη* in line 325, which is perhaps due to *αἱμυλίῳ*σι, line 317.

Apollo and Hermes have arrived at the summit of Olympus where are, as the poet tells us, the scales of justice for them both. Olympus becomes a tribunal, where in the presence of the other immortals the two gods plead their case in turn¹. In view then of this stress laid upon law and order, we might look for some such expression as this :

*εὐνομίη δ' ἔχ' Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον.*²

The word *εὐνομίη* occurs not only in our hymns, 30, 11, but also in the *Odyssey*, 17, 487. For the meaning one might adduce Aristotle, *Pol.* 4, 8, and Soph. *O. T.* 867.

Hymn to Hermes :

- 409 ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ χερσὶ περίστρεφε καρτερὰ δεσμὰ
 410 ἄγνον· ταὶ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κατὰ χθονὸς αἶψα φύοντο
 411 αὐτόθεν, ἐμβολάδην ἑστραμμέναι ἀλλήλησι,
 412 ῥεῖά τε καὶ πάσῃσιν ἐπ' ἀγραύλοισι βόεσσιν,
 413 Ἐρμέω βουλήσι κλειψίφρονος· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων

¹ Cf. 333 and 365-366.

² There is a curious verbal similarity in Apollonius Rhodius, 1, 503 ff. Note that as a personification Eunomia was one of the Horae, whose duties on Olympus are described in the *Iliad*, 5, 749; cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 902.

- 414 θαύμασεν ἀθρήσας. τότε δὴ κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης
 415 χώρον ὑποβλήδην ἐσκέφατο, πύκν' ἀμαρύσσων,
 416 ἐγκρύψαι μεμαώς· Λητούς δ' ἐρικυδέος υἱὸν
 417 ῥεῖα μάλ' ἐπρήνυν ἐκηβόλον, ὥς ἔθελ' αὐτός,
 418 καὶ κρατερόν περ ἔόντα· λαβὼν δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς
 419 πλῆκτρω ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέρος.

The difficulties of these verses have been attacked in many ways; several lacunae have been assumed, the order of the verses has been changed, words have been altered and even expelled altogether from the text.

The first trouble comes in line 410, where in prose we should expect after δεσμὰ ἄγνου the neuter τὰ δ' rather than ταὶ δ'. Franke has emended to ἄγνων, but in view of such places as 2, 456,

πέδω δ' ἄρα πίονες ὄγμοι
 βρισμένον ἀσταχύν, τὰ δ' ἑλλεθανοῖσι δεδέσθαι

I am not at all sure that we should not keep ἄγνου and supply from it the necessary ἄγνοι for the following ταὶ δ'. Just as the similar word λύγος in the singular signifies the tree, and in the plural the branches of the tree, so ἄγνος is the willow, ἄγνοι the willow twigs. Compare Eustathius, 834, 37, ἐπεὶ ὁ λύγος καὶ ἄγνος καλεῖται οἰονεὶ ἄγονος with the use of λύγοι in our hymns, 7, 13:

τὸν δ' οὐκ ἴσχανε δεσμά, λύγοι δ' ἀπὸ τηλόσε πίπτον.

Much more troublesome is the question whether the withies were put upon the cattle, or on Hermes, or, as it seems to me, on neither. Although they may have been intended for Hermes, the text merely states that Apollo was weaving strong bonds of willow. These suddenly took root under the feet of Apollo, spreading rapidly and entwining as they grew as if grafted¹ upon one another. In the following line (412) by the change of a single letter I hope to make the whole passage clear. I propose to read ὑπ' for ἐπ', illustrating the common confusion of these letters in the prepositions by 30, 3, where we find in D and ed. pr. ὑπέρχεται, in Π ἀπέρχεται, in the others ἐπέρχεται. The withies then

¹ Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* 2, 640 B.

grew up spontaneously also under all the cattle, so that Apollo, finding both himself and his cattle caught in a tangled brake, stood dumfounded at the miracle. Whether *ἐγκρύψαι* in line 416 can by itself mean 'hide himself' may be doubted, although one might adduce a disputed passage in Thucydides in its support, 5, 65, 6: *εἰτα ἐπειδὴ ἀναχωροῦντες ἐκείνοί τε ἀπέκρυψαν καὶ σφέεις ἡσύχαζον καὶ οὐκ ἐπηκολούθουν*. At any rate, the transition from the miracle to playing the lyre is abrupt, and it is generally agreed that there must be a lacuna either after *μεμαώς* or below after *έόντα*. Apparently Hermes sought to take advantage of Apollo's astonishment and hide himself in the thicket of his own creation. Then came the climax of the story. Hermes drew the long-hidden lyre from his armpit where he had kept it for just this emergency¹, and by its sweet music soothed the wrath of the now thoroughly incensed Apollo, so that in the verses following the lacuna we find him restored to amiability. Finally, in connection with this miracle of the thicket, attention may be called to the similar miracles in 7, 11 ff., and 7, 34 ff.

Hymn to Hermes :

τάχα δὲ λιγέως καθαρίζων
 γηρύνει' ἀμβολοῶδην, ἐρατὴ δὲ οἱ ἔσπετο φωνή,
 κραίνων ἀθανάτους τε θεούς, καὶ γαῖαν ἐρεμνὴν,
 ὥς τὰ πρῶτα γέγοντο καὶ ὥς λάγῃ μοῖραν ἕκαστος.

Grave doubts have been cast upon the word *κραίων* in verse 427, the only justification for which in the meaning 'honoring' is the statement in Hesychius *κραίνειν· τιμᾶν, κραίνουσι· τιμῶσι*. Accordingly, a considerable number of conjectures have been offered of which the more commonly accepted seems to be *κλείων*. Diplomatically easy, and yet, from its having a less common metaphorical meaning, more liable to change would be *αἴρων*. The verb *αἴρειν* like *ὀρθεύειν*² sometimes means 'to celebrate'.

Aristoph. *Frogs*, 377 :

χῶπως ἀρεῖς τὴν Σώτειραν γενναιως τῇ φωνῇ μολπάζων.

¹ Boissonade, *Anecd. Gr.* IV, 459; *Schol.* Dionys. Thrax in Bekker's *Anecd.* I, 752.

⁸ Pindar, *Pyth.* 4, 106; *Nem.* 1, 21.

Eurip. *Her.* 320 :

ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ζῶν καὶ θανὼν ὅταν θάνω
πολλῶ σ' ἐπαίνῳ Θησέως, ὦ τᾶν, πέλας
ὑψηλὸν ἄρῳ καὶ λέγων τάδ' εὐφρανῶ.

Hymn to Hermes :

447 τίς τέχνη, τίς μούσα ἀμηχανέων μελεδώνων,
448 τίς τρίβος; ἀτρεκέως γὰρ ἅμα τρία πάντα πάρεστιν,
449 εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ ἡδυμον ὕπνον ἐλέσθαι.

In verse 447 not only the unexampled form ἀμηχανέων meets us, but we may also suspect such a combination as μούσα . . . μελεδώνων in the ordinarily simple language of our hymns. The word μελεδώνων itself should not, however, be tampered with. We find it in 3, 532, and in some passages that set forth the power of wine; Kinkel's *Ep. Gr. Fr.* p. 27, 10, from Athen. 2, 35 C :

οἶνόν τοι Μενέλαε, θεοὶ ποίησαν ἄριστον
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἀποσκεδάσαι μελεδῶνας.

Theognis, 883 :

τοῦ πίνων ἀπὸ μὲν χαλεπὰς σκεδάσεις μελεδῶνας.

Noting the frequency with which the verb παύειν and its compounds are used with such words as μελεδῶνες, it has occurred to me that τίς μούσα may represent an original παύουσα. The letter π might readily become corrupted to a τ and the αυ become σμ. We find in the *Iliad*, 4, 191 :

φάρμαχ' ἃ κεν παύσῃσι μελαινῶν ὀδυνῶν;

in the *Odyssey*, 4, 34 :

αἶ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς ἑξοπίσω περ παύσῃ διζύος.

in Bacchyl. 5, 6 :

φρένα δ' εὐθύδικον
ἀτρεμέ' ἀμπαύσας μεριμνᾶν,

and elsewhere in Bacchylides similar combinations.

Whether the word ἀμηχανέων is due to the common adjective ἀμήχανος (cf. verse 434) being present in the mind of the scribe, cannot be

determined. Perhaps some form of the adjective *μηχανικός* once stood here. Apollo who was able to play (499–502) the newly invented lyre as soon as he took it into his hand might be called *μηχανικός*. So, too, might Hermes, to whom indeed the epithet *μηχανιώτης* has been applied in verse 436.

We might conjecture then for line 447 :

τίς τέχνη παύουσ' ἀνὰ μηχανικοὺς μελεδῶνων.¹

The *μηχανικοί* would be such as the author of this hymn describes at some length in verses 482 ff. :

ὅστις ἂν αὐτὴν
τέχνη καὶ σοφίῃ δεδαημένος ἐξερεῖν
φθεγγομένη παντοῖα νόψ' ἡριέντα διδάσκει,
βῆα συνηθείησιν ἀθυρομένη μαλακῇσιν,
ἐργασίην φεύγουσα δυήπαθον· ὅς δέ κεν αὐτὴν
νῆις ἔων τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιζαφελῶς ἐρεῖν,
μὰ ψ' αὐτῶς κεν ἔπειτα μετήορά τε θρυλλίζοι.
σοὶ δ' αὐτάγρετόν ἐστι δαήμεναι, ὅττι μενοινῃς.

Important in connection with the power of music to dispel care are the passages that follow.

Hesiod, *Theog.* 98 :

εἰ γάρ τις καὶ πένθος ἔχων νεοκηδεῖ θυμῷ
ἄλγεται κραδίην ἀκαχήμενος, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὸς
Μουσάων θεράπων κλεῖα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων
ὑμνήσῃ, μάκαράς τε θεοὺς, οἳ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν
αἰψ' ὄγε δυσφρονέων ἐπιλήθεται, οὐδέ τι κηδέων
μέμνηται· ταχέως δὲ παρέτραπε δῶρα θεῶων.

Eurip. *Med.* 195 :

στυγίους δὲ βροτῶν οὐδεὶς λύπας
ἠὔρετο μούσῃ καὶ πολυχόρδοις
ψαῖς παύειν, ἐξ ὧν θάνατοι
δυναί τε τύχαι σφάλλουσι δόμους.

¹ Closer still to the manuscript tradition would be

τίς τέχνη παύουσ' ἀνὰ μηχανικὸν μελεδῶνων,

where *παύουσ' ἀνὰ* has its parallel in the *Iliad*, 7, 425. Still the order of the words is rather hard.

correction of ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σε, I propose to read :

ἦ σε τέλειον
 ὄλβιον ἀθανάτων ποιήσομαι ἡδ' ἅμα πάντων
 πιστὸν ἐμῷ θυμῷ καὶ τίμιον.

The passage would then closely correspond to verses 460-461 :

καὶ μὰ τὸδε κραναῖνον ἀκόντιον, ἦ μὲν ἐγὼ σε
 κυδρὸν ἐν ἀθανάτοισι καὶ ὄλβιον ἡγεμονεύσω.

In 379 Hermes says :

ὥς οὐκ οἶκαδ' ἔλασσα βόας, ὥς ὄλβιος εἶην.

In 7, 53 we find :

κυβερνήτην δ' ἐλεήσας
 ἔσχεθε καὶ μιν ἔθηκε πανόλβιον.

The adjectives τέλειος and ὄλβιος are frequently used in connection with the gods. Aeschylus, *Eumen.* 27 :

καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κράτος
 καλοῦσα καὶ τέλειον ὕψιστον Δία.

Both occur in the same line in the *Supplices*, 535 (526).

If this emendation is accepted, we no longer have any reason to change the ἡδ' ἅμα πάντων of line 527. Apollo promises to make Hermes not only blessed among the immortals, but also of all, both gods and men, his trusted, honored friend. Finally, instead of changing ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σε, verse 462 (δώσω τ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα καὶ ἐς τέλος οὐκ ἀπατήσω) and Hes. *Op.* 294, would suggest the following correction :

ἐς δὲ τέλος σε
 ὄλβιον ἀθανάτων ποιήσομαι.

528	αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
529	ὄλβον καὶ πλούτου δώσω περικαλλέα ῥάβδον,
530	χρυσείην, τριπέτηλον, ἀκήριον ἦ σε φυλάξει,
531	πάντας ἐπικραίνουσα † θεοὺς ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων
532	τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅσα φημι δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς.

Possibly the corrupt κραίνων ἀθανάτους τε θεούς of verse 427 caused the use of θεούς in line 531. The commonly accepted emendation for

θεούς is Hermann's αἶμους¹. Slightly nearer, however, to the letters of the manuscripts, σαθεους, would be σα οδους (cf. σ' ομους). Furthermore, while οἶμος goes excellently with such words as ἐπέων and δαιδῆς, its use with ἔργων fails of the support that ὁδός has. In Pindar's Olympian ode, 8, 13, we read :

πολλαὶ δ' ὁδοὶ | σὺν θεοῖς εὐπραγίας ;

in *Ol.* 7, 48, we find πραγμάτων ὀρθὰν ὁδόν ; cf. *Pind. Ol.* 1, 110 ; *Nem.* 7, 51 ; *Fragm.* 68 ; *Aristoph. Peace*, 733 ; *Knights*, 1015 ; *Eurip. Phoen.* 911 ; *Soph. O. T.* 311 ; *Aeschyl. Ag.* 1154.

The use of ὁδός would, however, involve the change, slight though it is, of πάντας to πάντοσ' (cf. *Hom. Il.* 5, 508 ; *Apoll. Rhod.* 1, 437) :

πάντοσ' ἐπικραίνουσα ὁδοὺς ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων,

and therefore the following would be a simpler correction :

ἢ σε φυλάξει
πάντα σ' ἐπικραίνουσα θοῶς ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων
τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅσα φημὶ δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς.

The change of θεούς to θοῶς I had already happened upon before I saw that Bothe had conjectured

πάντ' ἂν ἐπικραίνουσα θοῶς.

We find σοὶ elided in Homer, cf. *Iliad*, 1, 170, and for its similarity we might adduce here a line from the *Odyssey*, 20, 115 :

κρήνον νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ δειλῇ ἔπος ὅτι κεν εἴπω.

The use of πάντα knits the sentence leading up to ὅσα and its antecedent genitives.

Hymn to Pan :

- 12 πολλάκι δ' ἀργινόντα διέδραμεν σῦρεα μακρά,
- 13 πολλάκι δ' ἐν κνημοῖσι διήλασε θήρας ἐναίρων,
- 14 δῖξέα δερκόμενος· τότε δ' ἔσπερος ἔκλαγεν † οἶον
- 15 ἄγρης ἐξανιών, δονάκων ὑπο μούσαν ἀθύρων
- 16 νήδυμον.

¹ Hermann's ed., p. 82.

For *οἶον* the simple change to *οἶος* has found most favor, although it has been objected that Pan does not seem to have been alone, but on the contrary in the company of the nymphs (cf. verses 19-21 and 2-3). Might we not expect to find here mention of the place to which Pan goes after the toils of the chase? Compare a somewhat similar place in Hymn 27, 11 :

αὐτὰρ ἐπὶν τερφθῇ θηροσκόπος ἰοχέαιρα
εὐφρήνῃ δὲ νόον, χαλάσας¹ εὐκαμπέα τόξα
ἔρχεται ἐς μέγα δῶμα κασιγνήτοιο φίλοιο.

Possibly the lines once read :

τότε δ' ἔσπερος ἔκλαγεν, οἶκον¹
ἄγρης ἐξανιών.

Finally a passage in the *Anthol. Plan.* 4, 226, is worth citing here :

ἔμπνει Πὰν λαροῖσιν ὀρειβάτα χεῖλεσι μούσαν
ἔμπνει, ποιμενίῳ τερπόμενος δόνακι,
εὐκελάδῃ σύριγγι χέων μέλος, ἐκ δὲ συνψοῦ
κλάζει κατιθύνων ῥήματος ἁρμονίην
ἄμφι δὲ σοί, ῥυθμοῖο κατὰ κρότον, ἔνθεον ἵχνος
ῥησσεῖσθω Νύμφαις ταῖσδε μελυδριάσιν.

¹ The rarer construction of *οἶκον* could easily give rise to error. Cf. in the *Odyssey*, 23, 27, ἦλθ' Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ οἶκον ἱκάνεται ὡς ἀγορεύω. For the order cf. 29, 11-12, as restored by Baumeister, p. 82.



THE DEATH OF AJAX: ON AN ETRUSCAN MIRROR IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS IN BOSTON

BY EDMUND VON MACH

AMONG the recent acquisitions of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston there is an Etruscan mirror¹, the unique design of which makes it of prime importance for the student of literature as well as of mythology.

It shows two figures, and the inscriptions tell us — if we cannot guess it from the figures themselves — that the woman at our left wearing a helmet and leaning on her spear is Athena (MENARFA); the man with the wild and frightened look, kneeling at her feet, sword in hand, is Ajax, the son of Telamon (EIFAS TELMVNVS). Ajax is holding a short sword, not by the hilt, but by the blade. He has turned it against his body, but sharp and pointed though it seems to be, it cannot pierce him, and the more it is pressed against his impregnable skin, the more it bends like a bow. The hero's agony at being frustrated in his attempts seems to be indicated by his fierce looks and his long and disheveled hair. In surprise he turns his head towards Athena, who stands behind him benign, with her right hand outstretched. I think she is exhorting him; she wants to end his agony and is pointing out to him *something*.

It is obvious that the artist has endeavored to represent an incident connected with Ajax's suicide. Do we know this particular incident from literature, and can this representation be duplicated by any other ancient work of art? The representations in art of the death of Ajax are very rare. When Overbeck published his *Gallerie des heroischen Sagenkreises* in 1853, only one picture was known. Since then others have been published², but so far as I know, none of the lists are com-

¹ *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Trustees*, p. 48, for the year 1899: Ancient bronzes, No. 37. Diameter, m. o.152.

² Noticeably by Heydemann, *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 1872, p. 60 ff. For more recent lists, cf. Pauly, *Realencyclopaedie*, 2, and Roscher, *Myth. Lexikon*, s. v. *Atias*.

plete. I, therefore, believe it worth while to collect once more all the the illustrations, which are known at the present day.

- A. Red-figured vase, Palermo: publ. Heydemann, *l. c.*, pl. 46, p. 60 ff.
- B. Small red-figured vase from Nola: publ. *Bull. Nap. Arch. N. S.*, I, pl. 10.
- C. Etruscan crater, red-figured, from Vulci, Louvre: publ. *Mon. dell' Inst.*, II, pl. 8 A, and Overbeck, *Sagenkreis*, pl. 24, 2.
- D. Small black-figured oenochœ: publ. Heydemann, *l. c.*, p. 61.
- E. Corinthian amphora: publ. *Mon. dell' Inst.*, VI, pl. 33; Wilisch, *Altcorinthische Thongefässe*, pl. 5, No. 47.
- F. Corinthian vase-fragment, Berlin: publ. *Jahrbuch VI, Arch. Anzeiger*, p. 116.
- G and H. Corinthian vases, Louvre: mentioned Pottier, *Catalogue des vases antiques du Louvre*, II, pp. 444 and 447.
- I. Unpublished aryballus¹, probably Boeotian imitation of early Corinthian Ware, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Ajax, bearded, with his long hair caught up and falling in a mass over his forehead, is lying in an attitude similar to that of D, only nearer to the ground. The sword is fixed in the ground, but by a peculiar use of the incised lines it passes in front of Ajax's body instead of piercing him. No other persons or accessories are represented.
- J. Etruscan mirror, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Published herewith.

It will be seen that the list of five representations given by Heydemann² in 1872 has been increased to ten. In five cases (C, D, E, F, I) Ajax's attempt at suicide has been successful, and we have the hero *φασγάνῳ περιπρυχῆς* (Soph. *Aj.* 899). In two out of these five cases other figures besides Ajax are introduced: Odysseus and Diomedes (E), a woman (Tecmessa?) and a warrior (D), while the dead hero is alone

¹ See *Twenty-fourth Annual Report*, p. 56, vases, No. 12.

² Neither of the lists given by O. Rossbach in Pauly, *Realencycl.*, nor by C. Fleischer in Roscher's *Myth. Lexikon*, is complete. In Fleischer's list there are two wrong references due to misprints.

three times (C, F, I). In all three cases the sword is firmly planted in the ground: in E and F it has passed through the middle of the body; in C, and possibly in D and I, the artist has endeavored to show it entering under the armpit.

In A, B, and J, the hero is preparing to die. He is alone in B, and seems to be praying; his arms are outstretched; the sword is already planted in the ground. The same is the case in A, where *Charun*, the Etruscan god of death, is gently coming up behind the hero, who seems to chide and argue with Athena, who on her part, however, appears not to listen to him. She stands, in the corner of the picture, with her left foot on the slaughtered sheep. Here then the artist seems to have compressed into the narrow margin of one picture the hero's insanity and his death which, to a certain extent, was the natural outcome of the former. Heydemann, I believe, is right in referring (*l. c.*) this representation to the myth which was followed by Sophocles, although, of course, in Sophocles Athena is not present in the death scene itself. Haupt¹, on the contrary, would like to refer not only this picture, but also C, to the version which we know to have been adopted by Aeschylus, and which is given by the scholiast to Soph. *Aj.* v. 833:

παραδεδομένον δὲ κατὰ ἱστορίαν ὅτι κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα ἄτρωτος ἦν
ὁ Αἴας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μασχάλην <μόνην> τρωτὸς . . . φησὶ δὲ περὶ
αὐτοῦ Αἰσχύλος ὅτι καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἐκάμπτετο οὐδαμῇ ἐνδιδόντος τοῦ χρω-
τὸς τῇ σφαγῇ τόσον ὥς τις ἐντείνων, πρὶν δὴ τις, φησί, παρούσα δαίμων
ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ κατὰ ποῖον μέρος δεῖ χρήσασθαι τῇ σφαγῇ. ὁ δὲ Σοφο-
κλῆς ἐριθεῦσαι μὲν τι ὡς πρεσβυτέρῳ μὴ βουλευθεῖς οὐ μὴν παραλιπεῖν
αὐτὸ δοκιμάζων ψιλῶς φησι

πλευρὰν ἀναρρήξαντα τῷδε φασγάνῳ
κατὰ τί τὴν πλευρὰν μὴ εἰπών.

I cannot agree with Haupt, but rather side with Mr. John Marshall², who denies the correctness of Haupt's assertion, in the case of C, on the weighty ground that Athena is not present; for among the few

¹ G. Haupt, *Dissertationes Hallenses*, XIII, p. 117 ff.

² In a letter which Mr. Edward Robinson has kindly placed at my disposal, and which by several references and suggestions has been of the greatest assistance to me in preparing this article.

things that we know of Aeschylus's version three facts stand out prominently. One of them is the *goddess present* (παρούσα δαίμων), while the next important fact is, I believe, that she enters into the action of the scene: she points out to Ajax his only vulnerable spot. And since in A the goddess is present, to be sure, but inactive and certainly not taking any part in the intended suicide, I believe that also in this case Haupt's attempt to claim the picture as an illustration of Aeschylus's story has been unsuccessful.

Matters are very different on the Etruscan mirror in Boston. Athena is not only present, but she is acting her part: she is pointing out to Ajax something, and we know now that this something is his *μασχάλη*, the only point where he is vulnerable, where the sword can enter the body. And here we come to the third prominent part in the story attributed to Aeschylus: until the goddess *ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ μασχάλην* Ajax's sword *bent like a bow*. We could not wish a better representation of this story than is given on our mirror.

Here then at last we have found a representation in art of the death of Ajax which follows the myth adopted by Aeschylus, while it also enables us to give a name to the anonymous *παρούσα δαίμων* of the scholiast: it is Athena. This discovery necessitates a revision of both Hermann's and Wecklein's attempt to restore from the scholiast's quotation the original verses by Aeschylus. Wecklein reads:

τὸ ξίφος
ἔκαμπτε, τόξον ὥς τις ἐντείνων <ἀνὴρ>
τοῦ χρωτὸς ἐνδιδόντος οὐδαμῇ σφαγῇ
πρὶν δὴ παρὼν τις δαιμόνων <τὸ καίριον>
ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ μασχάλης . . .

His change from *παρούσα* to the *masculine* gender *παρὼν* was risky in itself, and in view of our mirror becomes impossible. It is a female divinity, a specific goddess, Athena. I, therefore, believe that the 'τις' of the scholiast ought to be omitted. The words *παρούσα* and *δαίμων* I believe to be quoted from Aeschylus. But in their connection they did not mean 'some one of the gods', but they meant 'the goddess who was present', and thus very likely referred to Athena, who doubtless had been mentioned before. On these grounds, and a few others, which I shall mention below, I believe that Hermann also is mistaken,

who keeps the indefinite *τις* and omits several words, which, with Wecklein, I believe to have stood in the original text. Hermann reads :

ἔκαμψε, τόξον ὥς τις ἐντείνων ξίφος
πρὶν δὴ παροῦσα δαιμόνων τις <εὐφρόνως>
ἔδεξε αὐτῷ . . .

Is it, however, not remarkable to see how correctly Hermann's sympathetic genius has conceived the spirit of the myth? No word could better describe Athena's gesture on the mirror than Hermann's *εὐφρόνως*. The kind and reconciled goddess by her gesture ends the hero's agonies.

Nevertheless, I believe Hermann's reconstruction to be mistaken. But before I offer the possibility of another, I should like to call attention to a few facts which in this case make it difficult to glean from the scholiast's prose version those words which Aeschylus had used, and to arrange them afterwards in such a fashion as he might have done.

From the fact that the scholiast twice inserts the word *φησί*, it seems that at least some of the words used by him are literally quoted from Aeschylus, while it is just as apparent from the entire passage that the scholiast took equal pains to take the words out of their proper construction and to adopt them to his own sentences. *τόξον ὥς τις ἐντείνων* seem to fit so well into the iambic trimeter, that with Wecklein and Hermann I believe them to be Aeschylus's own words. The laws of the irrational syllables assign to these words one specific place in the verse, i. e. ending with the fifth foot. As they stand in the scholiast they are taken out of any grammatical construction: they lack the verb, which was either carelessly omitted by the scholiast or else must be supplied by the verb of the main sentence. Wecklein and Hermann have preferred the second alternative and have seen this verb in *ἐκάμπετο*. It necessitated the slight change from the passive to the active, which in Wecklein's version hardly can be called a change, because he has the word *τόξον* following immediately upon the verb, and since *τόξον* begins with the letters *τ ο* nothing is easier of explanation than that the scholiast had mistaken the initial letters of *τόξον* to be the passive ending of the verb. There is, however, one grave objection to this reading, viz. that the iterative imperfect fits the main clause: 'his sword bent as often as he tried it'; but it does not fit the subordin-

ate clause at all, because a man stringing his bow bends it but once. Hermann has seen this objection. He writes the aorist. But neither with him can we agree, because the imperfect in the main clause is so much in place that we dislike to amend it, and because it is rather difficult to explain why the scholiast should have copied the imperfect and at that in the passive, if Aeschylus had written the aorist active. These considerations compel me to accept the other of the two alternatives mentioned above: i. e. to assume that Aeschylus had given the subordinate clause its specific verb. It is natural to believe that, if such a verb was written, it had its place after *ἐντείνων*, i. e. ending the verse as the sixth foot. But why did the scholiast omit this word? To this, I believe, we may offer the very probable answer that this word, being the last one in this verse, may have looked much like the ending of another verse already quoted; and that the scholiast, careless and knowing that he had copied some words out of their proper connection, believed this word to be one of them. Acting upon this presumption I suggest tentatively the word *στρέφη*, which in the manuscript would have looked much like *σφαγῇ*, a word which in the scholiast's order actually holds the place immediately preceding this subordinate clause.

If we accept *στρέφη*, a slight change, yet practically no change, reading *ἂν τείνων* instead of *ἐντείνων*, becomes necessary. But the great advantages in assigning the subordinate clause its special verb are, that we not only avoid the difficulties which confronted Wecklein and Hermann, but that we are enabled to retain *ἐκάμπετο* in its passive form. It seems much better to have the sword bent, as it were, by *some supernatural force*, than to have the hero represented as doing the bending *himself*. I, therefore, would read:

τόξον ὥς τις ἂν τείνων στρέφη,
 <τοσόνδε καὶ χαλκοῦν> ἐκάμπετο ξίφος
 τοῦ χρωτὸς ἐνδιδόντος οὐδαμῇ σφαγῇ,
 πρὶν δὴ παροῦσα μασχάλην¹ αὐτῷ μόνην
 ἔδειξε δαίμων

to be vulnerable, etc.

¹ The word *μασχάλην* had been mentioned by the scholiast a few lines above and may readily be conceived as a quotation from Aeschylus.

The scholiast's information concerning Aeschylus has been infinitely increased in interest by the discovery of the Boston mirror, which so well illustrates the myth followed by that poet. But the scholiast also tells us something of Sophocles, and I believe this to be the proper place to call attention to a natural inference which we may make from his few remarks. He tells us that Sophocles was well aware of the story that Ajax was invulnerable, but that he seemed to have been disinclined to follow the older poet too closely. Now we know from Sophocles's play, that before committing suicide, Ajax utters a fervent prayer to the gods. He then throws himself upon his sword and dies. Does not this entire passage gain in grandeur and pathos, if we look upon the prayer not as perfunctory, but as the outburst of a soul in agony, in fear lest the blessings of death may be denied it? The hero dies: the sword enters the body at once, and without any prolonged agony Ajax has crossed over to yonder world. Who can fail to see a sign in this of the fact that the gods are reconciled? for the prayer for a speedy death, surely, could not have been answered so readily, if the gods had not pardoned Ajax's haughty words and his overbearing deeds of days gone by.

If we accept this interpretation, it enables us to add one more intensely dramatic touch to the many pointed out by Welcker (*Kleine Schriften*, II, 287 ff.) as constituting the everlasting charm of Sophocles's Ajax. Welcker there says that the chief reason for Ajax's decision to commit suicide was, that he was hated by the gods (Soph. 458). Rashness, however, was the hero's chief characteristic. If he could be guarded only one more day, the seer said, he would be safe. But the hero rushes into death because he cannot live if the gods hate him; consequently he dies, and his very death proves that the hatred of the gods is spent: they have forgiven him, but he in his rashness has not lived to know it. It is no longer, as otherwise it might be, the gods who in unjust wrath have driven a valiant hero to destruction, but it is this hero's own overbearing character. *Alone* he wanted to fight his battles, *alone* he wanted to conquer, *alone* to decide his fate, and, therefore, *alone* he dies at the very moment when the assumed cause of his death, the wrath of the gods, is superseded by their good will, and when he might have lived unhampered and with the blessing of heaven.

NOTES ON THE WORSHIP OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS IN SPAIN

BY GEORGE CONVERSE FISKE

IN order to make clear the position of the worship of the emperor and of the various associated cults in a province so completely Romanized as Spain, it seems necessary to say a few words about the influences which combined to bring this institution into being and to foster its rapid growth.

Undoubtedly, the most important influence in forming the cult came from Greece and the Orient¹. In the East the very idea of monarch implies divinity, and in Greece also very similar notions prevailed. Thus, even in the best period of Greek history, we find divine honors paid to Lysander². Nevertheless, in spite of the prevalence of such ideas in the Greek mind, the formal recognition, so to speak, of such a cult did not take place until after the death of Alexander the Great, at a period when a great flood of Orientalism was sweeping over the Greek world as a result of the vast conquests of the Macedonian king. Alexander called himself the son of Ammon Ra, and his immediate successors, especially at Pergamum and in Egypt, were not slow to claim for themselves divine honors, or to associate their own worship with that of the most ancient and revered Hellenic deities. Thus, at Pergamum, sacrifices were offered to Eumenes I before he took the title of king³. In the honorary decree of an association of actors at Teos⁴ we see clearly the development of the cult of the Attalidae. In Cyprus the

¹ Best treated by Hirschfeld: *Zur Geschichte des römischen Kaisercultus. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1888, zweiter Halbband, p. 833 ff. To this article I am especially indebted. Beaudouin, *Le Culte des Empereurs dans les Cités de la Gaule Narbonnaise*, has a few incidental remarks on the same subject.

² Plutarch, *Lysander*, 18.

³ Hirschfeld, *l. c.* p. 834.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 834.

Ptolemies¹ were honored in close connection with the cult of Dionysus. When we consider the close commercial relations existing between Rome and Hellenized Egypt, the deep impress set on Roman literature by Alexandrianism, and the keen interest shown in Egyptian affairs by Antonius, Caesar, and Octavianus, it seems not unreasonable to believe that the well organized worship of the Ptolemies served as the model for the deification of the Roman emperors.

Even under the Republic, however, the military prowess and the administrative ability of several Roman generals were distinguished in the East by divine honors. Thus to Flamininus², in association with Zeus, Roma, and Fides Romana, sacrifices were offered; to him in association with Apollo and Hercules public buildings were consecrated. In fact, Plutarch mentions a priesthood established in his honor which was still active in the second century. So also Sicily gave festivals to Verres³, and Cilicia a temple to Appius⁴. Indeed, the dedication of temples to the Roman proconsuls became almost an established custom⁵.

There were two other forces, distinctly Roman, of which I shall presently speak, that exercised a most important influence on the growth of the imperial cult. It was largely the effect of these two forces, counteracting to no inconsiderable extent the slavish adulation of the eastern cult, that gave to the imperial worship a national spirit and a practical reverence. These it was which made this new religion spread so rapidly in Italy and in the thoroughly Roman provinces of the West. Even in the East these influences were felt to some extent, though the Roman emperors on the whole wisely permitted these peoples to indulge in that ecstatic adulation which was so well suited to their national genius. The result of this policy was a broad line of cleavage between the imperial religion of the East and that of the West. The worship of the emperors in the East was an almost fulsome adoration paid to a man whose royalty gave him a place among the gods, who was in fact a god become man. The worship of the emperors in the

¹ Cf. *CIG.* 2620.

² Plutarch, *Flamininus*, 16. Cf. Beurlier, *Le Culte Imperial: Son Histoire et son Organisation*, p. 5.

³ Boissier, *La Religion Romaine*, I, p. 113.

⁴ *Ibid.* I, p. 113.

⁵ Cicero, *ad Quint.* I, 1, 26; *Ad. Att.* 5, 21; Suet. *Aug.* 52.

West, also, as the result of its eastern origin had much of this personal element, but the preponderating influence of these two Roman forces made the cult to a large extent the worship of the abstract spirit of Roman civilization and unity as personified in the emperor.

The worship of ancestors was the first of these forces. The important part occupied by the worship of the Lares, or the deified spirits of ancestors in family life, is well known. Equally dear to the humble classes of the city was the worship of the Lares Compitales, which was thoroughly reorganized by Augustus in the year 8 B.C. Just as the custom arose of putting the image of Augustus among the Lares of the household, so also he was naturally associated with this reorganized cult of the Lares Compitales. Hence this institution of the Lares Augusti, as it was called, symbolized to the Romans the truth that the spirit of the emperor was as closely interested in the concerns of the humblest family in the empire as were the divine spirits which protected the health and prosperity of the family or the *vicus*.

The second force, the association of the worship of the emperor with that of the Dea Roma, exercised an even more important influence upon the cult, for it brought this new worship into close connection with the national life of the state, just as the institution of the Lares Augustales brought it into relation with the private life of the citizens, or through the institution of the Lares Compitales with the smallest units of the state, the *vici*. Since to every true Roman his position as a citizen was of vastly more importance than his place as an individual in the family, the association of the worship of the emperor with that of Dea Roma, the personification of the Roman state, must have had a far greater effect than the association with the cult of the Lares. The separate worship of Dea Roma can be traced back at least to the year 195 B.C. when a temple to this divinity was built at Smyrna¹. Alabanda in Caria and other cities followed suit². When, therefore, the worship of the emperor was associated with that of Dea Roma, the general conception of the emperor, as the chief and representative of the state, rather than any particular emperor was adored.

Under such circumstances the rapid spread of this official religion in

¹ Tacitus, *ab excessu*, 4, 56.

² Livy, 43, 6. Eckhel, *D. N.* II, 571.

Italy and the provinces is not surprising. The high state of development attained is attested by the large number of inscriptions which show a very complete and elaborate organization of the various priest-hoods devoted to this cult. With the practical completion of the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions, the work of collating these inscriptions has received much attention. The inscriptions of Africa were collated by Hirschfeld in a most interesting article in the *Annali dell' Istituto*¹. A similar work was done for Gallia Narbonensis by Beaudouin in an equally successful manner². Beurlier's treatment³ of the whole field is both thorough and suggestive. Finally there appeared in the *Rivista di Filologia* for the year 1890-91 an article by Ettore Ciccotti entitled *I Sacerdoti Municipali e Provinciali della Spagna e gli Augustali nell' Epoca Imperiale Romana*. While this article on the whole affords a satisfactory treatment of the subject, a fresh treatment of the Spanish inscriptions is now desirable for at least four reasons. In the first place, since we have a number of Spanish inscriptions, dealing with the imperial worship, but having no connection with any priestly colleges, a work of somewhat different scope, which should treat of the Worship of the Emperors rather than the Priesthoods in Spain, would contain much that is new. In the second place several new inscriptions may now be added to the lists given by Ciccotti. Then again, although his article contains most careful collations of inscriptions, no attempt has been made to give an account of the historical development of the imperial cult, nor has the evidence of inscriptions from other provinces been adduced for purposes of comparison. This was not at all necessary for an article upon the priesthoods, but for a consideration of the worship of the emperors it seems essential. Finally, it seems to me that a rather more positive statement can be made upon a number of points about which Ciccotti has only dared to draw timid inferences. For all of these reasons a new treatment of the subject from a slightly different standpoint, with the addition of inscriptions recently found, and with

¹ *I Sacerdoti dei Municipii Romani nell' Africa. Annali dell' Istituto*, XXXVIII, pp. 28-77.

² *Le Culte des Empereurs dans les Cités de la Gaule Narbonnaise. Annales de l'Enseignement Supérieur de Grenoble*, 1891, III.

³ *Le Culte Impérial: Son Histoire et son Organisation*.

an attempt to gain greater historical perspective, will perhaps be of value¹.

The twofold division of the Roman province into *municipia* and *conventus* leads naturally to a threefold development of the imperial cult: in the *municipia*, in the *conventus*, and in the province. In the present article, therefore, I shall consider first the municipal priesthoods, second the conventual priesthoods, and third the provincial priesthoods, grouping together under these three categories the priests of the same college. Before proceeding to this task, however, it will be well to discuss such Spanish inscriptions relating to the imperial cult as can be definitely dated, for we shall thus gain some conception of the development of this worship. I have arranged these inscriptions under imperial reigns².

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF SPANISH INSCRIPTIONS

a) *Reign of Augustus*

Eph. Epig. VIII, p. 504, No. 280. 3/2 B.C.

Imp(eratori) Caesari divi f(ilio) Aug(usto), pont(ifici) max(imo),
trib(unicia) pot(estate) XXI sacrum.

5182. *Salacia* in Lusitania. 10 A.D.

Imp(eratori) Caesari divi f(ilio) Augusto, pontifici maximo, co(n)-
s(uli) XII, trib(unicia) potestate XVIII. Vicanus Bouti f(ilius) sacrum.

2703. *Astures Transmontani in Tarraconensis.* 9/10 A.D.

Imp(eratori) Caesari Augusto divi f(ilio), co(n)s(uli) XIII, imp(era-
tori) XX, pont(ifici) max(imo), patr(i) patriae, trib(unicia) pot(estate)
XXXII / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / /
sacrum.

2106. Urgavo in Baetica. 11/12 A.D.

Imp(eratori) Caesari Aug(usto), pont(ifici) max(im)o, trib(unicia)
pot(estate) XXXIIII, co(n)s(uli) XIII, patri patriae. Victoriae sa-

¹ I shall not treat the *Augustales* in this paper, because so much has already been written upon that subject, and because their organization was utilized for civic even more than for religious purposes. I shall also omit such inscriptions as refer to the identification of the emperors with any of the great gods, because the mere epithet Augustus, which is usually the only sign of this identification, may be at times applied only to the God without any notion of the emperor.

³ Some of these inscriptions come within certain reigns; for others the mention of a certain emperor or office establishes a *terminus post quem*.

cr(um) L(ucius) Aemilius L(uci) f(ilius) Nigellus aedilis, IIvir d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit).

3524. Murcia in Tarraconensis. An inscription to the *genius* of Augustus, which therefore dates from his lifetime¹.

b) Reign of Tiberius

Tiberius reigned from 14 to 37 A.D. He was never deified and endeavored to prevent adoration during his lifetime². Hence inscriptions relating to his worship are especially striking, and in view of the general detestation in which he was held at Rome in the latter years of his reign and after his death, it seems not unreasonable to refer such inscriptions as relate to his worship, and are without other indications of date, to his lifetime, when we know that he was popular in the provinces. Such an inscription is 49, found at Pax Julia in Lusitania, which mentions a *flamen Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug(usti)*. A similar inscription is 1516, Ipagrum in Baetica, 28 A.D., which is a dedication to the Numen Ti(beri) Caesaris Augusti. In 2181, Lucius Sempronius Longus, *Magister Larum Augustalium* makes a dedication to Tiberius. We cannot be absolutely certain that this was an inscription for the worship of the emperor Tiberius, but the position held by Sempronius makes this the most natural supposition.

The worship of other members of the imperial family which later developed into the cult of the *domus divina* is illustrated by two inscriptions:

194. Olisipo in Lusitania.

Q(uinto) Iulio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Gal(eria) Ploto aedili, IIvir(o), flamine Ger(manici) Caesaris, flamine Iuliae Aug(ustae) in perpetuum.

Since Iulia Augusta was the title given Livia by the will of Augustus, and since Germanicus was at the height of popular favor during the earlier years of Tiberius's reign, it seems reasonable to refer this inscription to that period.

2038. Anticaria in Baetica. 14/29 A.D.

Iuliae Aug(ustae) Drusi [fil(iae)] di[(vi) Aug(usti)], matri Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug(usti), principis et conservatoris et Drusi Germanici, gen[etrici] orbis, M(arcus) Cornelius Proculus pontufex Caesarum.

¹ On the *genius* cf. p. 128.

² Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 26 and 27: Tacitus, *ab excessu*, 2, 87: Dio Cassius. 57, 5, 8.

This inscription set up by a *pontifex Caesarum* is certainly religious, not merely honorary. The efforts made by members of the imperial household to foster the imperial worship is illustrated by three inscriptions in which Germanicus appears as *flamen Augusti*: the first, 1517, Ipagrum in Baetica, 18 A.D.; the second, 2198, Corduba in Baetica, 18 A.D.; the third, 2039, Anticaria in Baetica, 18/19 A.D. This last inscription probably proves the worship of Germanicus also, for Cornelius Proculus, the dedicator, is *pontifex Caesarum*. 2040, Anticaria in Baetica, 23 A.D., is similarly to be referred to the worship of Drusus, if the restoration of Huebner is to be accepted:

[Druso Caesari Ti(beri) Aug(usti) f(ilio)], divi Aug(usti) n(epoti), divi Iuli pron(epoti), tribunicia potestate I[I], co(n)s(uli) II, pontufex Cornelius Bassus, pontufex Caesarum d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) d(edit), d(edicavit).

c) Reign of Caligula

Under Caligula we have four inscriptions, two of which clearly refer to the worship of the deified Augustus. In 1534, Ulia in Baetica, P. Aelius Fabianus is *flamen divi Augusti* as well as *praefectus Gaii Caesaris*. The same is true of Lucius Servilius Polio, mentioned in 5120, Carma in Baetica. The third inscription almost certainly refers to the worship of the elder Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus and mother of Caligula¹:

3379. Mentesa in Tarraconensis.

Agrippinae G(aii) Caesaris Augusti Germanici matri. Q(uintus) Fabius Hispanus, flamen Augus(ti) decreto ordinis ded(icavit).

The fourth inscription is perhaps the most interesting of all. It shows how completely the position of Augustus as a god was established by introducing his name into an oath on a perfect equality with Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and the other immortal gods:

172. Aritium Vetus in Lusitania.

Ius Iurandum Aritiensium. ex mei animi sententia ut ego iis inimicus ero quos G(aio) Caesari Germanico inimicos esse cognovero et si quis periculum ei salutiq(ue) eius in[f]er[t] in[tul]erit[v]e armis bello internecivo terra marique persequi non desinam quo ad poenas ei per-

¹ Cf. Eckhel, *D. N.* VI, 213.

solverit; neq[u]e liberos meos eius salute cariores habebo eosque qui in eum hostili animo fuerint mihi hostes esse ducam. Si s[cie]ns fa[l-]l]o fefellerove tum me liberosq(ue) meos Iuppiter Optimus Maximus ac divus Augustus ceteriq(ue) omnes di immortales expertem patria incolumitate fortunisque omnibus faxint.

d) *Reign of Claudius*

Of the inscriptions which have come down to us from the reign of Claudius we cannot speak with so great certainty. No. 1518 (Ipagrum, 47 A.D.) belongs here if the restoration *sodales* be correct. No. 1569 (Ipsca Baetica) probably belongs here also, although it may possibly be only an honorary inscription¹. Its date is 46 A.D.:

[Ti(berio)] Claudio Caes(ari) Aug(usto) Germ(anico), pont(ifici) max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate) V, imp(eratori) X, p(atri) p(atriciae), co(n)s(uli) desig(nato) IIII Optatus Reburri l(ibertus) imag(inem) Caes(aris) Aug(usti), p(atris) [p(atriciae)] d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) d(edit) eamque cum Optato et Reburro filis dedicavit. Senatus decrevit perpetuo bonis publicis interesse.

4217, Tarraco Tarraconensis, mentions one Fuscus, who was *flamen divi Claudi* and afterwards became flamen of the province of Hither Spain. It is, of course, later than 54 A.D. The same may be said of 3114 and 5879, both of which come from Cabeza del Griego in Tarraconensis and show the existence of the *Sodales Claudiani* in Spain.

e) *Reigns of later Emperors*

We have no inscriptions from the reign of Nero, and but few which can be definitely assigned to the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, or Nerva, or for which any one of these reigns makes a *terminus post quem*. 2637, Asturica in Tarraconensis, is shown by the expression *divus Vespasianus* to be after 79 A.D. It records the *cursus honorum* of Lucius Pompeius Faventinus, who was flamen of Hither Spain and sacerdos of Rome and Augustus. I have not much doubt that 1570 implies the consecration of an edifice to the worship of some Augustus, probably to Vespasian himself:

¹ The *imagines* played an important part in the worship of the emperors. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 26; Pliny, *Paneg.* 52; Beurlier, *l. c.* p. 53.

1570. Ipsca in Baetica.

Sacrata domus Augusto M(arcus) Clodius . . . pont(ifex) design(a)tus, cum Annia . . . et M(arco) Clodio Rustico et . . . Clodio Marcello f. imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Vespasian[o] Aug(usto) d(e) sua p(ecunia) d(edit) d(edicavit).

Two inscriptions, 3271 and 4212, refer to the emperor Titus as *divus* and therefore come after 81 A.D. The first, found at Castulo in Tarraconensis, mentions a *flamen Augustalis*; the second, found at Tarraco itself, is in honor of one Gaius Egnatuleius Seneca who was a *flamen divi Titi*.

The formula of the Genius which is usually employed of the living emperors, places 1963 in the reign of Domitian, 81-96 A.D.:

1963. Malaca in Baetica.

Facito ut is iuret per Iovem et divom Augustum et dium Claudium et divom Vesp(asianum) Aug(ustum) et divom Titum Aug(ustum) et Genium imp(eratoris) Caesaris Domitiani Augusti deosque penates¹.

6095, Tarraco in Tarraconensis, describes the career of Lucius Fonteius Maternus Novatianus, a flamen of divus Vespasianus, who was raised to the equestrian rank by the emperor Nerva.

From the reign of Trajan (98-117 A.D.) we have a large number of inscriptions, nearly all of which refer to Licinius Sura, the famous general. 4508, Barcino in Tarraconensis, shows that this Licinius Sura was *pontifex* and *Sodalis Augustalis*. Then we have a series of inscriptions, Nos. 4536-4548, upon statues set up to Lucius Licinius Secundus, *accensus* to the general².

2344. Mellaria in Baetica. 100 A.D.

G(aio) Sempronio Sperato, flmini divorum Aug(ustorum) provinciae Baeticae, imperatore Nerva Traiano Caes(are) Aug(usto) Germ(anico) III, Vicerio Alariano et L(ucio) Marcio Postumo co(n)s(ulibus). Hic provinciae Baeticae consensu flaminis munus est consecutus peracto honore flamin(is) et feciali(s) omne concil(ium) et consensus statuum decrevit.

Under Hadrian we have an inscription, 6145, describing the official career of Lucius Minicius Natalis, a *sodalis Augustalis*, which was

¹ I have given only the essential clause in this long inscription.

² Since these inscriptions are important only as showing the great honor in which the *accensus* was held, I have only referred to them by number.

apparently set up on the dedication of some public baths at Barcino in Tarraconensis. Here also belongs 4230, which is clearly after the reign of Hadrian :

4230. Tarraco in Tarraconensis.

Gn(aeo) Numisio Gn(aei) fil(io) Sergia Modesto, Carthag(ine), omnib(us) honorib(us) in re p(ublica) s(ua) functo, electo a concilio provinc(iae) ad statuas aurandas divi Hadriani, flam(ini) P·H·C·P·H·C.

1371. Callenses in Baetica, a dedication made to Hadrian by Marcus Messius Rusticus Aemilius Papus Anius Proculus Iulius Celsus, a *sodalis Augustalis*, may be referred to the year 128 A.D.

That the *sodales Augustales* still existed in Spain at the time of Antoninus Pius is shown by an inscription found at Salpensa in Baetica, No. 1283.

To the age of Marcus Aurelius belongs an inscription from Barcino in Tarraconensis, 4514, which contains the public bequests of Lucius Caecilius Optatus to that town.

An inscription dating from the reign of Caracalla shows the high esteem in which the flaminiate was held at that late period :

2221. Corduba in Baetica.

[Fabio M. f(ilio) Gal(eria)] . . . Do, [flam]ini divor(um) Aug(ustorum) provinc(iae) Baet(icae). Huic consummato hono[re] [flam]oni, Cattio Sabino II Cornel(io) Anull[in]o co(n)s(ulibus), consensu concili universae prov(inciae) Baet(icae) decreti sunt honores quantos quisque maximos plurimosque flamen est consecutus cum statua. M. Fabius Basileus Celt(itanus) pater honor(e) accept(o) impens(a) remisit¹.

f) *Worship of living Emperors*

Before leaving this chronological table, there is one problem of the utmost importance for this investigation which should be treated here. I refer to the worship of the emperors during their lifetime. As has already been noticed, this form of the worship, prevalent in the East,

¹ Besides these inscriptions which can be assigned to definite emperors, we have a few which for various epigraphical reasons are placed in the first century A.D.: 2159, 2638, 3329, 3350, 4279, 6097.

was extremely rare in the West. Beaudouin¹ in his work *Le Culte des Empereurs dans les Cités de la Gaule Narbonnaise*, shows by a most conservative and rational elimination of many inscriptions which at first sight seem to relate to the worship of the emperors or others of the imperial household then living, that the number of such inscriptions in Gallia Narbonensis is extremely small. I shall endeavor to use equal caution in sifting the Spanish inscriptions, but even so, I think we shall find the number considerably larger than that in Gallia Narbonensis.

In the first place we have four inscriptions which from the indications of the list of offices belong beyond doubt to the lifetime of Augustus, and in which the word *sacrum* seems most simply and naturally explained as referring to some religious dedication to the living emperor. These are *Eph. Epig.* VIII, p. 504, No. 280; 2106, 2703, 5182² in the Corpus. One of these, No. 280, was found in 1896 near Bracara Augusta. It is a dedicatory inscription for an *ara* which seems to have been privately set up about 3/2 B.C. Another inscription, 2038³, from Anticaria in Baetica, unquestionably dates from the lifetime of Livia. It belongs after 14 A.D., when she became Iulia Augusta, and before 29 A.D., when she died. Still another, 194⁴, from Olisipo in Lusitania, seems to point to the worship of both Germanicus and Livia while alive⁵. Inscription 49⁶, which mentions a flamen of Tiberius, belongs with almost equal certainty to his lifetime, for it is unlikely that such an honor would be paid to that morose emperor after his death. On the other hand, he was most popular in the provinces during his life. Moreover, we know that a temple was erected to Tiberius in Asia Minor during his life⁷, and we have also an Italian inscription referring

¹ pp. 40-80.

² Cf. p. 105.

³ Cf. p. 106.

⁴ Cf. p. 106.

⁵ For the worship of Livia cf. also *CIL.* X, 7340, 7501, 7464. In Gaul we have two flaminicae of Livia under the name of Iulia Augusta, XII, 1363, 4249. There seems no reason why any flaminica should be instituted to Livia between the year 29 A.D. when she died and 42 A.D. when she was deified. On the other hand there is every reason why she should be worshipped in her lifetime since she had an enormous power in the earlier part of the reign of Tiberius after the death of Augustus. For Livia as *genetrix orbis* cf. Eckhel, *D. N.* VI, 154. For the worship of Germanicus cf. *CIL.* XII, 1872.

⁶ Cf. p. 106.

⁷ Tacitus, *ab excess.* 4, 15.

to a flamen of Tiberius¹. It is more natural to regard the inscription 2181, from Adamuz in Baetica, 28 A.D., as a religious dedication made by the *magister* of the *Lares Augustales*².

Very probably, although here it is dangerous to be too dogmatic, 1569, found at Ipsca in Baetica, date 46 A.D.³, refers to an image of Claudius raised in his lifetime as an object of worship⁴.

Before proceeding to a discussion of a few of the problems connected with the organization of the municipal priesthoods, I should naturally give a complete collection of these inscriptions arranged by cults, but since we already have an admirable collection of this sort in the article by Ciccotti, I shall proceed at once to this discussion.⁵

¹ *CIL.* IX, 688. Cf. *CIG.* 344; *CIA.* III, 456, 647; *CIL.* X, 688, and Beurlier, *J. c.* p. 169, n. 4.

² I omit here an inscription to the *Numen* of Tiberius, because this worship does not necessarily imply anything about the divinity of the person whose *numen* is worshipped.

³ Cf. Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 26. With this inscription may also be compared 1643, Ilturgicola in Baetica, 139-161 A.D., which beyond doubt refers to statues as objects of worship:

Statuae sac[rae] imperatoris Caesaris Tit[i] Aeli Hadriani Antonini Aug(usti) Pi[i] et M(arci) Aureli Veri Caesaris et [L(uci)] [Au]r[el]i Commodi Aug(usti), fil(i) Au[g](usti), C. Annius Prasius Ipolcobulculus, Apueaclesis incola ob honorem seviratus.

⁴ It would be possible to increase this list materially by adding other inscriptions which probably refer to the imperial worship, but for which the evidence is less certain. I have preferred, however, to follow a conservative course.

⁵ I may, however, indicate here the additions which can now be made to Ciccotti's tables. On p. 3 of his article, 197 may be added under *Flamines absoluti*. On p. 7, 5848 may be inserted immediately after 3010, 6055 after 3860, 6150 and 6151 after 4524. On p. 8, under *Flamines bis*, 6014 after 3792. On same page, under *Flamines Perpetui*, 5617 gives a later rendering than 2479. On p. 9, under *Flamines Romae et Augusti*, 6147 gives a later rendering than 4516. On same page, insert 6097 after 4224. On p. 10, insert 6095, giving a *flamen* of *divus Vespasianus*, after 4217, and make 4274 follow 4212. On p. 12, add 5918 after 4276. On p. 13, insert 5513 after 1957. On p. 14, add 2149 *a* after 2132. On p. 15, cf. *Eph. Epig.* VIII, p. 390, for a suggested emendation of the reading *pontifex* to *flamen* in 5120. On p. 15, insert 5945 before 3369. On p. 16, change 2479 = 5617 to *Eph. Epig.* VIII, p. 356, No. 4: add 3361. On p. 17, add 6093 after 2638. On p. 19, add the inscription found in *Eph. Epig.* VIII, p. 382, No. 83, after 1471.

I. THE MUNICIPAL PRIESTHOODS

The first problem in considering the municipal priesthoods is the position of the simple flamines. Were they attached to the imperial worship or were they entirely devoted to the ceremonies of the municipalities? This is a difficult question to answer, because inscriptions, owing to the limitations of space, show a great variety of abbreviated and condensed expressions. It seems most reasonable to assume, however, that the simple term *flamen*, when applied to the municipal priests, indicates in abbreviated form some relation to the imperial worship. This view is supported by several facts. In the first place we know that the provincial *flamens* must have had charge of the cult of Rome and Augustus, because this was the sole provincial cult in existence¹. When, therefore, we find a provincial priest called simply *flamen*, we are forced to assume that this is a concise expression for some such title as *flamen Romae et Augusti (alicuius provinciae)*. If this is true of the provincial cult, we should expect similar abbreviated expressions to appear in the municipal cult also. In the second place we know that the worship of the emperor became *par excellence* the cult to which the provincials in *municipalites*, *conventus*, and *capitals* were devoted. It is, therefore, most natural to refer simple titles like *flamen*, *pontifex*, or *sacerdos* to the worship of the emperors. In the third place, whenever a fuller expression is used, which happens not infrequently, we find almost without exception that the reference is to some one of the imperial priesthoods. In Spain, for example, we have among the inscriptions of full form relating to the municipal *flamens* only two, 1663, *flamen coloniarum immunium*, and 2105, *flamen sacrorum publicorum municipii*, which do not expressly refer to the worship of the emperors. The same remarks apply with nearly equal force to the terms *flaminicae*, *sacerdotes*, *pontifices*, but from the very nature of the office not to *augures*, *haruspices*, *salii*. Any evidence, therefore, which is offered by the inscriptions of *flamines*, *pontifices*, or *sacerdotes* of municipalities, may be accepted quite as readily as the testimony of less abbreviated inscriptions relating to the imperial cult.

¹ This is not a perfectly exact statement for Spain where the cult of the *divi* was combined in a quite exceptional fashion with that of Rome and Augustus. The principle of abbreviation, of course, is the same in Spain as elsewhere.

Having thus settled the status of a large number of inscriptions relating to the flamines and flaminicae we may proceed to consider a number of problems which arise regarding the position of the municipal flamines and flaminicae, their duties and privileges. In the first place we are met with the important question of the relationship between the flamines and flaminicae. Were the flaminicae the wives of the flamines? We know that at Rome the flaminica was the wife of the flamen dialis, and at first sight it would seem as if the flaminica of a provincial town should stand in a similar relationship. Still this parallelism is not so close as at first appears, for the municipal flaminica might be fairly said to bear a closer resemblance to the provincial flaminica. Since, however, this priestess also held her office by virtue of her husband's sacred functions, we should seem to have only another reason for believing that the position of the municipal flaminica was purely a subordinate one.

In at least two provinces, however, this seems not to have been the case. Hirschfeld¹ has shown that in Africa the municipal flaminica was elected, and for Gallia Narbonensis Beaudouin proves a similar condition with absolute success². Upon this problem in Spain, Ciccotti³ says (I paraphrase): "Whether the flaminica would be such because wife of the flamen or independent of any sacerdotal office held by her husband, are questions which we cannot decide with much accuracy. . . . In 396, 397, the husband of a flaminica is called only flamen, and as his name does not occur elsewhere we cannot tell whether this was the only office he held. The data at hand will not allow us to decide whether every flaminica had her office because she was the wife of a flamen; but this bond of affinity which joins the flaminica and other persons invested with the sacerdotal office cannot be held to be something purely accidental." It seems to me that this note is very misleading. It is incorrect to adduce 396 and 397 as evidence for the marriage of the municipal flaminica and flamen, for the flamen mentioned in 396 is expressly called *flaminis provinciae Lusitaniae*. It is true that in 397 his wife is called flaminica, but since the wife of a

¹ *Sacerdoti municipali nell' Africa. Annali del Inst.*, 1886, p. 49.

² In defence of his position he quotes the following inscriptions: XII, 1904, 690, 1868, 2244, 3175, 4402, 3269.

³ *l. c.* p. 28.

provincial flamen, as we shall see later, held her position by virtue of her husband's, it is much more reasonable to suppose that the title flaminica here refers to a provincial office. It, therefore, seems unsafe to lay too much stress on the apparent analogy afforded by this inscription of a provincial flamen.

In fact, the slight evidence we have seems to point to a different conclusion from that advanced by Ciccotti. We have a certain number of inscriptions which rather tend to show that the flaminica was elected. If this be so, it is unreasonable to suppose that the election was purely a formal one, a legal fiction narrowing down the choice to the wife of the flamen. The first of these inscriptions relates not to a flaminica, but to a municipal sacerdos, whose office is expressly called annual: 3279. Castulo in Tarraconensis. Sacerdos annua aream ante templum Ro(mae) [et Augusti cum stat]uis de sua pecunia dedit item eo amplius ornamentis instruxit. If the female sacerdos were annual and, therefore, elective, we should naturally expect the flaminica to be elective also. Another inscription, 2188, is set up by Lucius Acilius Terentianus, a *duumvir*, to his parents, Lucius Acilius Barba and Acilia Lepidina, and his wife, Cornelia Lepidina, who is *flaminic(a) m(unicipii) S(aciliensis)*. The absence of the title flamen in this inscription, where the husband expressly calls himself *duumvir*, can hardly be due to a modest reticence, and is most naturally explained on the supposition that Terentianus did not hold that office. If this reasoning be correct, his wife would obtain the office of flaminica as the result of an election.

The evidence on this subject is then decidedly inconclusive, but the practise in the municipalities of neighboring provinces, the fact that the other municipal priesthoods were elective, and finally the fact that in no extant Spanish inscriptions do we have the husband of a flaminica expressly called flamen, make it rather more likely that the municipal flaminica, since she was elected by the community¹, held no necessary relation to the flamen. Having thus established the position of the municipal flaminica, we have next to consider the method by which the municipal flamen was elected and the length of his term of service.

¹ Of course the community was at perfect liberty to elect the wife of the municipal flamen to the post of flaminica if it chose to do so. That this sometimes happened is shown by *CIL*. VIII, 211.

At Rome the flamens were named by the pontifex maximus, the head of the state religion¹. We cannot, however, conclude from this that the municipal flamens were appointed by the head of the college of municipal pontiffs, for there seems to be no evidence that this official bore a position in the provincial municipalities analogous to that of the pontifex maximus at Rome. The municipal pontiffs and augurs were coöpted after an election by the comitia. This, however, affords no very close parallel for the flamens. In fact, by a process of elimination, we are driven to the conclusion that the election was by the town itself. This conclusion, moreover, is in accordance with the practise of the provincial cult, where the flamen of the province was nominated by the province². Our evidence is extremely fragmentary. 1570, found at Ipsca in Baetica, merely shows that the municipal pontifex was elected, though, of course, the analogy of this office must not be neglected in considering the municipal flamen. 5488, found at Cartima, speaks of a *sacerdos perpetua decreto decurionum Cartimitani facta*. This is important, for by analogy we should judge that the municipal flamen was elected by the decuriones. In point of fact, from the end of the second century municipal elections were in the hands of the decuriones³. This inscription, therefore, seems to fall after that period. Two other inscriptions from the completion of the municipal flamine prove conclusively that the office was elective. The first of these inscriptions, 2195, comes from Corduba in Baetica. It reads as follows:

Nemesi Cornelii Res[ti]tutus et African[us] exacto flamonio votum reddiderun[t].

The second, 2344, from Mellaria in Baetica, speaks of a Gaius Sempronius Speratus, who became *flamen divorum Augustorum* of the province of Baetica after having completed the office of *fetialis* and of flamen, *peracto honore flaminis et fecialis*. It would seem, therefore, that the municipal flamen was elected, but that we have no evidence as to the method of his election until the end of the second century.

¹ Bouché-Leclercq, *Manuel des Antiquités romaines*, p. 513, 514.

² Cf. *CIL*. II, 2344; Livy, *epitome*, 137; Tacitus, *ab excess.* I, 57, and p. 131 inf.

³ Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, I², p. 196.

Not only was the municipal flamine an elective office, but all the evidence would seem to show that it was held for a definite period, probably a year. At Rome the augurs, flamens, and pontiffs were named for life, but the provincial flamen held only an annual office¹. To prove that the office of municipal flamen was annual one must find²: (1) such expressions as *flamen iterum, bis, or ter*. These merely show that the office was temporary, but the higher the numerical adverb the more likely it is that the office was annual; (2) *flamonio functi*, who, if possible, afterwards exercise other duties incompatible with the flamine; (3) municipal flamens called *annui*. Applying these tests to Spain, we find five inscriptions of *flamines iterum* or *bis*, Nos. 34, 3792, 3864, 6014, and one inscription of a *flamen quartum*, No. 3571. This last inscription, found at Villajoyosa, seems to make the fact that the flamine was annual very certain, for it speaks of one Quintus Manlius Celsinus, who not only held the duumvirate three times, but the flamine as well four times. It is almost impossible to assume so extensive a career on any other basis than that of an annual flamine. We have two inscriptions which may be subjected to the second test. The first of these, 2195, clearly does not fulfill the condition that other offices should be held subsequently. The second, 2344, seems to me to be an exact parallel, for we can hardly conceive of a man being municipal and provincial flamen simultaneously. As to the third test, we do not find any municipal flamen called annual, but we do have in 3279 a *sacerdos annua*, a case which may furnish some analogy for the municipal flamine. It would seem, then, that we have good cumulative evidence to show that the municipal flamens were annual officers.

Having thus shown that the flamen was probably elected annually by the community, and having established the relation between the flamen and the flaminica, I shall next consider the position of the flamen in the *cursus honorum*.

In Africa the municipal priests are distinguished men. They are almost always *omnibus honoribus functi*³. Several later become *curatores*⁴, and many on leaving office enter the equestrian order⁵ or even

¹ Cf. *CIL*. II, 983, 4248, 2221, 2344.

² Cf. Beaudouin, *l. c.* p. 281 ff.

³ Cf. *CIL*. VIII, 6993, 7112, 8318, 8319, 9015, 9030, 9258, 9663.

⁴ Cf. *CIL*. VIII, 1298, 2243, 2409, 5358. ⁵ Cf. *CIL*. VIII, 2409.

become senators¹. In Gallia Narbonensis we find nobody who was raised to the equestrian or senatorial rank. We do find, however, that the municipal flamens were regularly selected from those who had previously exercised the highest municipal magistracy. Moreover, since the duumvirate was the highest of the city offices, mention of it often implies that the person was *omnibus honoribus functus*. It is difficult to say, however, whether the flamine came before or after the duumvirate. In Spain also we may fairly say that the municipal flamine was held by the leading men in the community, but it is difficult to determine whether it was higher or lower than the duumvirate, for although in a majority of the inscriptions the municipal flamens also hold the duumvirate, the administrative office sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the priestly one. The Spanish inscriptions may be conveniently divided into three groups: (*a*) those inscriptions in which the flamen had a municipal career; (*b*) those inscriptions in which a military career is noted, either alone or combined with the municipal career; (*c*) those inscriptions in which the flamen really enjoyed a considerable degree of prominence. Under the first class we find one inscription in which the flamen has held the aedileship alone, 3856, and one in which he held the aedileship and quaestorship, 4279. In the following he holds quaestorship, aedileship, and duumvirate: 3864, 3865, 4028, 4212, 4274. In 6147 the duumvirate and *praefectura fabrum*. The duumvirate alone is mentioned in these inscriptions, 34, 53, 194, 1074, 1941, 2105, 3008, 3179, 3276, 3277, 3620, 3623, 3789, 4217, 4267 (in two towns), 4520, 5523, 6014.

Under the second class we have flamens with a career entirely military as well as those with both military and municipal career. The following inscriptions come under this category: 1979, 2103, 3008 (also municipal), 4212, 4514, 4622 (also municipal), 6097.

The following inscriptions relate to men whose extended services justify the use of our modern title 'distinguished citizens'. Here may be mentioned two inscriptions to men who had wide experience: 2132 is to Marcus Valerius who was *duumvir*, *legatus perpetuus municipii Pontificiensis*, *praefectus fabrum*, *flamen*, *pontifex Augusti*; 3571 is to Quintus Manlius who was *duumvir* three times and flamen four times.

¹ Cf. *CIL*. VIII, 7041.

Then we have a number of inscriptions in which the flamens were persons who had served in the preliminary equestrian career or its equivalent either throughout or in part. These are the following: 2103, 4224, 4264, 4514, 6150. We have no inscriptions in which a flamen is of senatorial rank, but several of flamens who attained equestrian rank either by the direct gift of the emperor or by holding prefectships or procuratorship. To the former class belong 4211, in which we learn that L. Domitius Dentonianus was *equo publico per Traianum*, and 6095, in which L. Fonteius is *equo publico donatus ab imperatore Nerva Augusto*. To the latter class belong 1534, in which P. Aelius Fabianus is *praefectus* of Gaius Caesar (Caligula); 5617, in which an unknown person is *curator divi Titi* in Baetica, procurator of Gallaecia, prefect of the fiscus in Germany. These inscriptions prove beyond doubt that the office of municipal flamen was one of the most honorable in the *cursus honorum*¹, and that the most influential men in provincial towns gladly held it.

Owing to the importance which the worship of the emperors attained in the provinces, the flamine gradually overshadowed the other municipal priesthoods, since it was the flamen who was *par excellence* the representative of the imperial religion.

The distribution of the pontifices and sacerdotes in the various provinces is a question not without interest. We have only one example of a pontifex in Lusitania. In Tarraconensis we have 9 *pontifices*, 2 *pontifices perpetui*, 1 *pontifex divorum et Augustorum*, 1 *pontifex Caesaris*; 13 officials in all. In Baetica we have 13 *pontifices*, 6 *pontifices perpetui*, 4 *pontifices Augusti* or *Augustorum*, 2 *pontifices divi Augusti*, 2 *pontifices domus Augustae*, 3 *pontifices Caesarum*. This is a total of 30. We need not be surprised at finding so few pontifices in Lusitania, a province which was in a much more backward condition than either Baetica or Tarraconensis. It is rather striking, however, to find the pontifices in Baetica so much more numerous than in Tarraconensis. The distribution of the sacerdotes shows this same result in an even more remarkable manner. We have no sacerdotes in Lusitania. In Tarraconensis we have 4 *sacerdotes Romae et Augusti*, and 3 priestesses called simply *sacerdotes*. This makes a total of 7 officials. When we

¹ Cf. Hirschfeld, p. 53, for Africa.

turn to Baetica we meet only one male *sacerdos*, but we have 4 female *sacerdotes*, 4 *sacerdotes perpetuae*, 1 *sacerdos perpetua Augustae*, and 4 *sacerdotes divae Augustae*. The fact that we have only one man called *sacerdos* is probably to be explained on the supposition that it was far more common in this province to reserve the title *sacerdos* for women. *Pontifex*, as the large number of inscriptions in Baetica show, was the title commonly assumed by men. The cause for the difference between the cults of Baetica and of Tarraconensis will best be seen by a comparison of the number of flamens in the two provinces. In Baetica we have 7 *flamines*, 2 *flamines perpetui*, 2 *flamines Augusti*, 5 *flamines divi Augusti* or *Augustorum*, 1 *flamen coloniarum immunium*, 1 *flamen sacrorum publicorum*, making 18 officials called flamines. In Tarraconensis we have 24 *flamines*, 3 *flamines perpetui*, 4 *flamines Augusti* or *Augustorum*, 11 *flamines Romae et Augusti*, 5 flamines of special emperors. This makes a total of 47 officers called flamines. Of course this shows a far greater development of the cult in Tarraconensis, but it also shows that the cult in Tarraconensis was conducted by flamens, for we have 47 flamens against 30 pontiffs and only 18 flamens in Baetica.

What is the cause of this phenomenon? In the first place the pontifices and sacerdotes much more than the flamines conducted other worship than that of the emperors. Thus we find no *flamen* specifically assigned to any other worship. On the other hand, we have several inscriptions relating to pontifices or sacerdotes expressly assigned to other cults¹. For example, 1929 speaks of a priest of Hercules, 2126 of a priest to the genius of the municipality, 4312 to Apollo, 4310 to Caelestis, 2231 to Venus. To assume, therefore, that the pontifices and sacerdotes merely added to their previous duties in connection with the worship of the municipalities some participation in the ceremonial of imperial worship, while the flamines, certainly of later origin, were established for the express purpose of furthering the new religion, is an interesting and rather plausible hypothesis. In the second place the flamine, the peculiar priesthood of the imperial worship, was not introduced into Baetica until a considerably later period than its introduction into Tarraconensis. The cult of the

¹ Cf. Ciccotti, p. 16.

emperors before the appearance of the flaminiate was, therefore, conducted by the pontifices and sacerdotes. Even at a later period the flaminiate never attained the high state of development which it reached in Tarraconensis, and the pontifices and sacerdotes continued to exercise here many of the duties which elsewhere fell to the lot of flamines and flaminicae. In view of this state of affairs we are not surprised to find that the *lex Coloniae Genetivae* which mentions *pontifices* and *sacerdotes* with considerable detail has no reference to *flamines*. So also the existence of *pontifices Caesarum*, confined practically to Baetica and apparently of an early date, shows an organization which discharged many of the duties elsewhere exercised by *flamines Romae et Augusti* or *Romae et divorum Augustorum* or by *flamines* with similar titles.

We have 10 inscriptions of *Pontifices Caesarum* or similar titles: 2038, 2039, 2040, 2149 A, 2342, 2115, 1380, 5120, 3350, 3362. All of these except two are in Baetica. No. 3350 is really on the border, while 3362 is in Tarraconensis. As has been noticed,¹ three of these inscriptions, found at Anticaria, can be dated in the reign of Tiberius. Since one of them is to Julia Augusta, one to Germanicus, and one probably to Drusus, the supposition seems not unreasonable that, at Anticaria at least, the cult of which these *pontifices Caesarum* were the representatives was something very like the germ of the later worship of the Domus Divina. Another of the inscriptions which speaks of a *pontifex divi Augusti*, 5120, can be dated in the reign of Caligula; 3350 also would seem to be of early date, not only from the form of the letters, but perhaps also because Gaius Cornelius is called *pontifex Caesaris primus*². Marcus Herennius *pontifex Augustorum* of 2342 could hardly have flourished before the accession of Caligula if we may judge anything from the plural form, though how much later he may have lived it would be impossible to say. There is no clue to the date of the other inscriptions referring to the pontifices attached to the imperial cult, but on the other hand, there is nothing to contradict their early origin. The fact that out of ten inscriptions, five, an unusually large proportion, can be pretty definitely assigned to the period from

¹ Cf. pp. 106 and 107.

² Perhaps, however, *primus* has here merely an honorary sense. Cf. p. 138.

14-41 A.D. makes it an attractive and rather plausible supposition that most of the remaining inscriptions were of early date also. If pontifices undertook the cult, we should expect in accordance with the Roman idea which placed the flamen under the service of a special divinity, but gave to the pontifex the general right of supervision and participation in all the religious interests of the state, that the worship of the emperors would be only one of the functions of the municipal pontifices. The greater variety of functions which we have already found¹ assigned to these pontifices, as compared with the flamines, goes far to confirm this theory.

An attempt to establish a further relation between the three greater municipal priesthoods would be perhaps a thankless task. Like the flamine, the pontificate was also a temporary elective office, probably annual². The same may be said of the sacerdotes with even greater certainty³. The pontificate and the flamine are joined in a number of inscriptions (55, 1475, 1534, 1663, 2105, 2132, 3362, 5523, 5617), but it seems almost impossible to tell which of the two offices was the more important in Baetica, though in Tarraconensis the flamen was obviously the person of greater dignity.

Besides the obvious duty of officiating at the imperial worship, the municipal priests had certain other privileges and obligations which perhaps deserve special mention. In the first place, as we learn from the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*⁴, they had seats of special honor at public games, and wore as a distinguishing badge of their priestly functions the *toga praetexta*. Special honors might be paid individual priests for particular services to their municipalities or as a recognition of their general merit. The case of Sextus Allius Mamercus of Astigi in Baetica is perhaps the best example. 1475 : Sex(to) Allio Mamercu, pontifici perpetuo Col(oniae) Astigitanae et flamine divor(um) August(orum)

¹ Cf. p. 120.

² We hear of Marcus Clodius, a *pontifex designatus* at Ipsca, of Marcus Marius, a *pontificalis* at Acinipo. Cf. Nos. 1570 and 1348.

³ We have an example of a *sacerdos annua* at Castulo; 3279, and examples of *sacerdotes* who afterwards became provincial priests exactly like the municipal flamens, and who must therefore have been temporary officers: 2637, 2638, 6093; *Revue Arch.*, vol. XXXI, p. 441.

⁴ II, 5-10, quoted by Ciccotti, p. 42, on this privilege.

concili Immunes Ilienses Ilipenses decuriones viritim statuam d(ederunt) d(edicaverunt). Another inscription speaks of the services of Marcus Clodius to his native city. 5837: Labitolosa in Tarraconensis. M(arco) Clodio M(arci) f(ilio) Gal(eria) Flacco, Iiviro bis, flamini, tribuno militum legionis III . . . Flaviae, viro praestantissimo et civi optimo ob plurima erga rem p(ublicam) suam merita cives Labitolosani et incolae. Other inscriptions of similar import are 1188, 2132, 3710, 4610.

The evidence as to the burdens of the municipal priests is both fuller and more explicit. In the first place, the *lex Coloniae Genetivae*¹ orders that the pontiffs and augurs shall have a house in the colony at a distance of not more than a mile from the city in order that the community may have a pledge that they will carry out their official duties. In the second place, we find from the inscriptions of African municipal priests that definite sums of money must be paid on the assumption of the priestly function. This sum, the *legitima honoraria*, might be expended in various ways. In Spain we cannot prove that there was any such legal obligation as existed in Africa, but there was unquestionably a moral obligation amounting to a well-established precedent that the municipal priests should give certain sums of money for the benefit of the public.

These favors to the municipality might take the forms of vows paid when the flamine was conferred, or of gifts made *ob honorem flamini* or *in honore pontificatus*. Thus, at Barbesula, Sextus Fulvius Lepidus gave an *aedicula* in accordance with such a vow, 1939. At Urgavo, Gaius Venaecius Voconianus raised two statues, one to Fortuna, the other to Mercury, in accordance with a similar vow². Another vow is recorded as paid by Restitutus and Africanus, at Corduba, *exacto flamonio*³. A gift was made by Lucius Calpurnius Silvanus, at Urgavo, *ob honorem pontificatus*, 2105. Similar gifts *ob honorem flamini* are recorded in an inscription from Lacippo as made by Gaius Marcus Cephalo, 1936. We find also examples of *ludi scaenici*, *ludi circenses*, and banquets given to the people by flamines, flaminicae, and pontifices. At Tucci in Baetica we have an interesting inscription of Lucius Lucretius Fulvianus, 1663:

¹ Cf. I, 1-7.

² *CIL.* II, 2103.

³ *CIL.* II, 2195.

Lucius Lucretius Fulvianus flamen col(oniarum) immuniū provin-
ciae Baetic(ae), pontifex perpetuus domus Aug(ustae) t(estamento)
p(oni) i(ussit) ex arg(enti) p(ondo) ob honor(em) pontificatus,
Lucretia L(uci) f(ilia) Campana, flam(inica) perp(etua) domus
Aug(ustae), editis ad dedicationem scaenicis ludis per quadriduum et
circensibus et epulo diviso posuit. Huic dono Lucr(etia) Campana
amplius nomine suo coronam auream adiunxit.

At Isturgi in Baetica, Aulus Terentius, a pontifex, raises a statue to
Mars Augustus after having given *ludi scaenici*¹. At Astigi, Aponia
Montana, a *sacerdos divorum Augustorum*, gives circensian and other
games *ob honorem sacerdoti*². We hear of two women, Patricia at Ili-
berris³, and Postumia Honorata at Ocurri, who gave banquets to the
people⁴. Edifices of various sorts were constructed at the expense
of these priests and priestesses and given to the city. Since such
inscriptions afford the best illustration of the lavish expenditures which
were demanded of the municipal priests, it will be well to give a few
examples:

1956. Cartima in Baetica.

Iunia D(ecimi) f(ilia) Rustica, sacerdos perpetua et prima in muni-
cipio Cartimitano, porticus public(as), vetustate corruptas refecit, solum
balinei dedit, vectigalia publica vindicavit, signum aereum Martis in
foro posuit, porticus ad balineum solo suo cum piscina et signo Cupidi-
nis, epulo dato et spectaculis editis d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua) d(edit)
d(edicavit): 'statuas sibi et G(aio) Fabio Iuniano f(ilio) suo ab ordine
Cartimitanorum decretas remissa impensa, item statuam G(aio) Fabio
Fabiano viro suo d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua) f(actus) dedit.

1957. Cartima in Baetica.

L(ucio) Porcio Quirina Saturnino pontifici qui pro hon(ore) sester-
tium viginti (milia) n(ummum) d(edit) ut aes alien(um) rei p(ublicae)
Cartimitan(ae) lib(eraret) amici fac(iendum) curaverunt. L(ucius)
Porcius Quirina Saturninus h(onore) a(ccepto) i(mpensam) r(emisit).

2782. Clunia in Tarraconensis⁵.

G(aio) Calvisio Aïonis f(ilio) Gal(eria) Sabino, mag(istro), flamine

¹ *CIL.* II, 2121.

⁴ *CIL.* II, 1338; cf. also 1074, 1956, 2098.

² *CIL.* II, 1471; cf. 1663.

⁵ Cf. *CIL.* IX, 4686, also.

³ *CIL.* II, 5514.

Romae et divi Aug(usti) quod populo frumentum annona cara dedit amici.

At Barcino we have the following interesting provision from the will of Lucius Caecilius Optatus (4514) :

. . . do, lego darique volo denariorum septem milia quingentos ex quorum usuris semessibus edi volo quodannis spectac(ulum) pugilum die IIII iduum Iuni(arum) usque at denarios CCL (ducentos quinquaginta), et eadem die ex denariis CC (ducentis) oleum in thermas public(as) populo praeberi et [I]ecta praestari ea condicione volo, ut liberti mei item libertorum meorum libertarumque liberti quos honor seviratus contigerit ab omnibus muneribus excusati sint. Quot si quis eorum at munera vocatus fuerit, tum ea denariorum septem milia quingentos at rem publicam Tarrac(onensem) transferri iubeo sub eadem forma spectaculorum quot s(upra) s(criptum) est, edendorum Tarracone¹.

Before leaving the municipal priesthoods we have still to speak of a number of minor cults. Here also may conveniently be placed those inscriptions which, although not belonging definitely to the records of any priestly organization, yet refer clearly to the worship of the emperors. Under the former class are several important inscriptions referring to the *sodales Augustales* from Salpensa (1283), Callenses (1371), Cabeza del Griego (3114 and 5879), Barcino (4508 and 4509).

The *sodales Augustales*, as has been shown by Dessau², were a college modelled after the *sodales Titii* to carry on the ancestral rites of the Julian gens which after the death of Augustus became a part of the state religion. The great dignity of the office is shown by the fact that the *sodales Augustales* are classed with the great colleges³. These *sodales*, therefore, were men of the highest position in the state; hence we are not surprised to find many persons who have enjoyed a long official career holding this priesthood in Spain.

Another interesting manifestation of the imperial worship appears in

¹ Compare also on this subject of the public munificence of municipal priests and priestesses the following interesting inscriptions: *CIL.* II, 1074, 1570, 1649, 2098, 2129.

² *Ephem. epig.* 3, p. 205 ff.

³ Cf. Tacitus, *ab excess.* 3, 64, and Dio Cassius, 58, 12.

the series of inscriptions treating of the *Domus Divina*, or the *Domus Augusta*, as it was called at an earlier period¹. These inscriptions apparently refer to the worship of the reigning imperial family.

This is not the place to speak of the reorganization of the cult of the *Lares Compitales* by the association with these deities of the image of Augustus, which resulted in the worship of the *Lares* and the genius of Augustus under the name of *Lares Augustales*². We have a number of Spanish inscriptions upon this subject, and here, as at Rome, the cult is administered by the humbler classes. So many *seviri Augustales*³ appear as *magister Larum* that the coincidence of offices can hardly be considered accidental. In other words, these inscriptions seem to show that in Spain at least the *seviri Augustales* were in some way connected with the cult of the *Lares Publici*. We have also several inscriptions of the *Lares Augustales* alone⁴. Finally, we have a most interesting inscription set up by one of those semi-public corporations which must have been important factors in spreading the worship of the emperors, and were perhaps sources of the *seviri Augustales*⁵:

5929. Carthago Nova in Tarraconensis.

G(aio) Laetilio M(arci) f(ilio) A[palo], II vir(o) quinq(uennali) Lares Augustales et Mercurium piscatores et propolae de pecun(ia) sua f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) i(dem)q(ue) p(robarunt).

This guild was perhaps similar to that described in another inscription⁶:

2573. Lucus Augusti in Tarraconensis.

Sacrum Poemanae, collegium divi Aug(usti).

There remain the few inscriptions which clearly refer to the worship of the emperors, but which cannot be assigned to any particular priestly

¹ Cf. *CIL.* II, 1678, 1978, 2105, 3221, 3531, 5354. In 1663 we hear of a *pontifex perpetuus domus Augustae*. According to the view of Mommsen the inscriptions of the *pontifices Caesarum* are very similar to those of the *Domus Augusta*.

² The best account of this subject may be found in Boissier, *La Religion romaine*, vol. I, chap. III.

³ Cf. *CIL.* II, 4293, 4297, 4304, 4306, 4307, 4290. In the last three of these inscriptions *magister* is probably only an abbreviation for *magister Larum*.

⁴ Cf. *CIL.* II, 1133, 2013, 2181, 2233, 3113.

⁵ Cf. *CIL.* XIV, 409.

⁶ Cf. *CIL.* X, 1238, on the *Cultores Augusti* at Nola, and also *CIL.* VIII, 5523.

organization. In the first place we have a number of dedicatory inscriptions. One of these probably refers to the time of Augustus :

3555. Ilici in Tarraconensis.

Augusto divi f(ilio) G(aius) Maecius G(aii) f(ilius) Celer dedit dedicavit.

Two refer to some unknown emperor, whether or not Augustus we cannot say, for every emperor took that title :

471. Emerita in Lusitania.

Aug(usto) sacr(um).

2197. Corduba in Baetica.

Augusto sacrum.

Another which refers to the emperor Aurelian may have been set up in his lifetime, though there is no definite evidence in the inscription itself¹ :

3832. Saguntum in Tarraconensis.

Deo Aureliano.

A most important inscription from Pons Alcantarensis records the dedication of a temple and a bridge to the emperor Trajan :

761. Pons Alcantarensis in Lusitania.

Imperatorī Nervae Traiano Caesari Augusto Germanico Dacico sacrum. Then follow some elegiac couplets of which the following are important :

Templum in rupe Tagi superis et Caesare plenum
Ars ubi materia vincitur ipsa sua.

.

Idem Romuleis templum cum Caesare divis
Constituit ; felix utraque causa sacri.

Recently there was found at Tarraco a small bell with the following inscription² :

Cacabulus sacris Augustis, Vernaculus, nuntius maior. Seculum bonum s(enatui) p(opulo)q(ue) R(omano) [et populo Romano], felix Tarraco.

It seems most reasonable to believe that this bell, judging from its

¹ Cf. *CIL*. X, 1271, 3903, l. 5; XI, 556. Cohen, *Monn. Imp.* VI, p. 197.

² Cf. *Eph. Epig.* vol. VIII, p. 447, No 198.

small size, was a votive offering made by some slave attached to the provincial cult of *Romae divorum et Augustorum* at Tarraco¹.

Secondly, we have a number of inscriptions referring to the *genius* or the *numen* of the emperor. The fact that many of these inscriptions are assigned to the lifetime of the emperors does not necessarily imply a personal worship. "The *genius* is the spiritual part of the man, by which he exists. The *genius* of the ordinary citizen is sometimes worshipped, that of the master by the slaves for instance, but this does not make the man himself divine"². In fact, according to the Roman conception, almost everything had a *genius*; towns, camps, military centuries, colleges, tax-gathering, public granaries³. As used in inscriptions the conception of the *numen* closely approximates to that of the *genius*. As Beaudouin well says: "The *numen* of an emperor is his power, grandeur, sovereign will, as opposed to his personality"⁴. The introduction of the *genius* of the living emperor into oaths has already been noticed in an inscription of Malaca, where the formula is "per Iovem et divom Augustum et divum Claudium et divom Vespasianum Aug(ustum) et divom Titum Aug(ustum) et Genium imp(eratoris) Caesaris Domitiani"⁵. In an inscription found at Italica (1133), the *genius Caesaris Augusti* is associated with the *Lares Publici*. In another inscription we have simply the words *Genio Augusti*. This inscription (5123) was found at Bracara Augusta. We have two inscriptions relating to the *numen* of emperors. The first of these evidently belongs to the lifetime of Tiberius:

1516. Ipagrum in Baetica.

Numini Ti(beri) Caesaris Augusti Flaccus Fidentinus.

The second is even more interesting, as suggesting the religious origin of the purely formal phrase, "*Numini Maiestatique eorum*", so common at a later period.

2009. Nescania in Baetica.

Numini divorum Augustorum G(aius) Publicius Fortunatus liber[t]us m(unicipii) F(lavii) Nesca[ni]ensis] aram solo pub(lico) s(ua) p(ecunia) d(onum) d(edit) d(edicavit).

¹ For the various views of scholars on this interesting inscription cf. Huebner, *l. c.*

² Cf. Beaudouin, p. 45; also Beurlier, p. 45 ff.

³ Cf. Beaudouin, p. 45.

⁴ Beaudouin, p. 48.

⁵ Cf. *CIG.* 1933; Apuleius, *Met.* 9, 41 In general, Beurlier, p. 43.

II. THE CONVENTUAL CULT

The *sacerdotium conventus* seems to have occupied a somewhat anomalous position, but was perhaps an honor midway between the municipal and the provincial priesthood. It was not, however, at all necessary for a man to pass through this stage in order to attain the provincial priesthood; on the contrary, we usually find the succession made directly from the municipal to the provincial office. We have a very few inscriptions from Tarraconensis relating to this organization, which has no precise parallel in any other province¹.

III. THE PROVINCIAL CULT

So much work has already been done on the provincial cult, and its general nature is so well understood that a summary treatment will suffice. In the first place it is obvious that the provincial priesthood, by whatever title it went, was a far more important post than any of the municipal priesthoods. In most provinces the provincial priest, under whatever title he served, was always a priest of Rome and Augustus since this was the sole provincial cult in existence². In the priestly organizations of the municipalities, on the other hand, the worship of the *divi* played an important part and the cult was of a much more personal nature, though Huebner seems to be wrong in assuming that the cult of Rome and Augustus was absolutely reserved for the provinces³.

Under this head of the provincial cult the following questions seem to call for consideration: (*a*) the association of the worship of the *divi* with that of Rome and Augustus, a peculiarity of the Spanish provincial cult; (*b*) the position of the provincial flaminica as compared with that of the municipal flaminica; (*c*) the method by which the provincial

¹ Cf. Beurlier, p. 153 and 154. Since no new inscriptions have been found since the publication of Ciccotti's article, a reference to his collection, pp. 44 and 45, seems sufficient.

² Cf. Beaudouin, p. 257.

³ Cf. Huebner, *CIL.* II, 4224. Beurlier, who (p. 168, note 4) refers to a number of municipal inscriptions relating to the cult of Rome and Augustus, makes the plausible suggestion that the municipal cult was at first influenced, like the provincial cult, by the efforts of Augustus to have his name adored only when associated with the goddess Roma.

flamen was elected; (d) the composition of the *concilium* with some consideration of its prerogatives. Much has already been written upon most of these points, but for the sake of completeness it seems unwise to omit all consideration of them. They may, however, be treated in summary fashion, especially the last topic, upon which the excellent work of Guiraud, *Les Assemblées Provinciales dans L' Empire Romain*, furnishes an exhaustive treatment.

a) The provincial cult of Spain assumes an entirely exceptional character from the association of the *divi* with the worship of Rome and Augustus, a peculiarity which modifies the line of demarcation observable in other provinces. Thus in Tarraconensis, where the cult attained its widest development, we have *flamines Romae divorum et Augustorum provinciae*, *flamines divorum et Augustorum provinciae*, *flamines divorum Augustorum provinciae*, *flamines Augustorum provinciae*, *flamines August(i) provinciae*, *flamines Romae et Augusti provinciae*. In Baetica we have *flamines divorum Augustorum*. In Lusitania we have a *flamen divi Augusti*. In all of these provinces we have simple *flamines*, an abbreviated form of expression which represents the same functions I have enumerated above at greater length. The only other country where similar duties are assumed by the provincial priest is Sardinia, where we have a provincial *flamen divorum Augustorum*¹. Hirschfeld is doubtless correct in his conjecture that the peculiar position of Spain, or more especially of the province of Tarraconensis, is due to the early consecration of the temple to *divus Augustus* at the capital Tarraco, an event which must have exercised an important influence upon the cult of Rome and Augustus². Certainly the worship in the Spanish provinces was fundamentally that of Rome and Augustus with a slight local modification resulting from the worship of the *divi*, rather than that of the *divi imperatores* as the main stock into which the cult of Rome and Augustus is subsequently grafted. Beurlier³ seems to prove conclusively that it is not a question of two distinct cults discharged by the same priests, but the coalescence of the cult of the *divi* with that of Rome and Augustus.

¹ *CIL.* X, 7599.

² *Zur Geschichte des römischen Kaisercultus*, p. 849.

³ *Le Culte Impérial*, p. 101.

As the list of inscriptions referring to the provincial cult given by Ciccotti is very satisfactory¹, I proceed at once to the discussion of the provincial priesthoods.

b) It seems certain that in Tarraconensis the provincial flaminica was the wife of the provincial flamen. This is proved by the following inscriptions: 4198, 4236 (cf. also 4257 for the husband), 4241, 4242, 4246, 4252² (cf. also 4263 for the husband). Another inscription, 4246: Semproniae Fusci f(iliae) Placidae Pompaelonensi flaminicae consensu concili P. H. C. C. Cornelius Valens maritus sua pecunia fecit, probably implies, not as Ciccotti supposes that there was need of previous consideration on the part of the *concilium*, but rather that the statue to which this honorary inscription belongs was set up by the husband with the approval of the *concilium*³. In Lusitania also (cf. 396 and 397) the same relationship existed between the flamen and the flaminica. Though we have no definite evidence upon this subject in Baetica, the analogy of the neighboring provinces of Africa and of Gallia Narbonensis as well as that of the other Spanish provinces would lead us to infer the prevalence of the same rule.

c) The fact that we hear of *flamines designati* in three inscriptions, 2220, 4196, 5124, proves merely that the provincial flamine was an elective office, but shows nothing as to the form of election. Similarly the title *flaminales* connotes election. Thus, in 4248, a statue is decreed to C. Valerius Arabinus: ob curam tabulari censualis fideliter administr(atam) statuam inter flaminales viros positam exornand[a]m universi censuer(unt). In 983, C. Varinius is called *pientissimus vir flaminialis provinciae Baeticae*. The inscriptions of *flamines designati* imply that an interval elapsed between the election and the inaugura-

¹ The following additions should be made, however. On p. 46, add 396 and 5264 after 336. On p. 47, *Eph. Epig.* VIII, p. 385, No. 89, gives a later reading for 983. On p. 52, add after 4221, 6093, 6094, 6095, 6150, *Eph. Epig.* VIII, p. 449, No. 199, and after 4225 add 4224. On p. 53, after 4199 add 4217. On p. 54, insert 5124 after 4258 under the heading 8) *flamen designatus provinciae*.

² In 3329, Manlia Silana is probably the wife of Postumius Fabullus since the two are associated in the same gift.

³ We find only two cases in which it cannot be proved that the husband of the flaminica thus mentioned was a flamen (4190 and 4233). Perhaps we may suppose that the omission of the title in these cases is due to a modest reticence.

tion. Iteration was apparently not allowed, for we have no instances of *flamines bis*. It is difficult to say absolutely what the duration of the office was, but it was probably annual. In the first place the analogy of the municipal priesthoods must have reacted upon the provincial cult, especially as many of the provincial priests had previously been municipal priests. Second, the great number of inscriptions from Tarraco relating to the provincial cult and the fact that so many different towns were represented suggest a short term of service. The *concilium*, which, as we shall see, elected the flamens, had the right of praising or blaming the provincial governors¹, a privilege which would have been of little value if the meetings had not been annual². Finally, in the law of Narbo³ the provincial flamens are expressly called annual: [omniaque secundum hanc legem per reliquam] partem eius anni eo ordine habeto quo annuorum flami[num habentur].

The provincial flamen was elected by the *concilium* of the province. This is proved by two inscriptions⁴:

2221. At Corduba in Baetica.

[Fabio M. f. Galeria] . . . Do [flam]ini divorum Aug(ustorum) provinciae Baet[icae] huic consummato hono[re] [flam]oni Cattio Sabino II, Cornel(io) Anull[in]o co[n]s(ulibus) consensu concili universae prov(inciae) Baet(icae) decreti sunt honores quantos quisque maximos plurimosque flamen est consecutus cum statua.

2344. Mellaria in Baetica.

C. Sempronio Sperato flameni divorum Aug(ustorum) provinciae Baeticae, imp(eratore) Nerva Traiano Caes(are) Aug(usto) Ger(manico) III, Vicerio Alariano et L. Marcio Postumo co[n]s(ulibus). Hic provinciae Baeticae consensu flameni[s] munus et consequutus, peracto honore flameni(s) et feciali(s) omn(e) concil(ium) et consensus statuum decrevit.

d) This *concilium* was composed of delegates belonging to the order of the decuriones sent from colonies with Roman or Latin rights, and

¹ Tacitus, *ab excess.* 15, 22.

² Cf. Marq. *eph. epig.* I, p. 214. Cf. Guiraud, *Les Assemblées provinciales*, pp. 76-81.

³ Cf. *CIL.* XII, 6038, line 20.

⁴ Cf. *CIL.* X, 7518, for Sardinia. For the three Gauls, Livy, *eph.* 137, and Allmer, *Inscr. antiq. du musée de Lyon*, II, p. 91; also Beurlier, p. 137.

from *municipia*¹. It probably met once a year and elected the *flamen provinciae* for the ensuing year. It also made provision for the maintenance of the worship, and for the suitable recognition of the services of flamens by the erection of statues or some other marks of honor. Since a meeting of men so prominent in the provinces could hardly be expected to confine itself to purely religious duties, we are not surprised to find these *concilia* passing resolutions of thanks to retiring governors and sometimes adopting motions of censure². The political powers of these *concilia*, which have been considered at length by Guiraud, fall without the scope of this article³.

To become a provincial flamen was the crowning honor in the career of the provincial. This is well illustrated in the case of the Spanish provinces where we hear of 28 men who had attained the highest municipal honors before gaining this priesthood⁴. Many of the holders were men of equestrian rank or men raised to the equestrian rank by grant of the emperor; not a few had attained prefectures or procuratorships⁵. In six cases the titles of municipal or conventual priesthoods previously held are expressly mentioned⁶. In only a few inscriptions do we hear of provincial priests who have held no other office⁷. Huebner holds that the omission of other offices may in some of these cases be due to modesty or brevity. Ciccotti, on the other hand, points out that certain provisions of the *Codex Theodosianus*, which are intended to secure an established *cursus honorum* for all provincial priests, suggest the inference that the regular rule must have been

¹ Cf. Ciccotti, p. 60; Guiraud, *Les Assemblées Provinciales dans L'Empire Romain*, p. 61-69.

² Cf. Tacitus, *ab excess.* 15, 20 and 21.

³ Cf. *l. c.* p. 112-217 especially.

⁴ *Omnibus honoribus in re publica sua functus*, 3584, 4189, 4191, 4195, 4197, 4200, 4203, 4204, 4205, 4207, 4209, 4213, 4218, 4223, 4227, 4229, 4230, 4231, 4232, 4237, 4244, 4247, 4249, 4251, 4254, 4257, 6093, *Revue Arch.* vol. XXXI, p. 441.

⁵ Cf. the list made by Huebner, *CIL.* II, p. 541, to which should be added 6095, *Eph. Epig.* VIII, p. 449, No. 199.

⁶ 4215, 4223, 5124, 6093, 6094, *Eph. Epig.* VIII, p. 449, No. 199. Doubtless the municipal priesthoods are often included in the comprehensive phrase, *omnibus honoribus in re publica sua functus*.

⁷ Huebner mentions 4193, 4214, 4220, 4228, 4235, 4243, 4250, 4255.

disregarded by the admission to the provincial flamine of persons who had never held other offices. It seems, however, that this point is not very well taken, for the *Codex Theodosianus* dates from the year 438 A.D. and its provisions are not especially applicable to a series of inscriptions which with Huebner may be assigned to the first, the second, and the beginning of the third century. The two most important duties of the provincial flamen were to preside at the meeting of the *concilium* and to conduct the worship of the imperial cult before the provincial altar or temple.

A word should be said in closing¹ on the introduction of the imperial worship into the three Spanish provinces. We know from a passage in Quintilian² that there was an altar sacred to Augustus at Tarraco during his reign: *Augustus nuntiantibus Tarraconensibus palmam in ara eius enatam 'apparet', inquit, 'quam saepe accendatis'*. This altar is also represented by coins with a palm growing out of it³. Under the reign of Tiberius a temple was constructed here in the year 15 A.D. at the request of the provincials. Tacitus says on this subject in the

¹ It will be noticed that I have given in this article no discussion of the position of the *flamines perpetui* and other priestly officials to whom this title is applied. I make this omission from the conviction that this question can be satisfactorily discussed only in connection with the use of that title furnished by the *Seviri Augustales*, whose duties I have not included here.

² Quintilian, 6, 3, 77.

³ Cf. Eckhel, I, 57; Mionnet, I, p. 36, n. 260, p. 51, n. 370-374; Dio Cassius, 53, 25. In general, the erection of altars seems to have preceded the building of temples. Thus, according to Hirschfeld (*Zur Geschichte des römischen Kaisercultus*, p. 839), the provincial cult was introduced into the West by Drusus on the first of August of the year 12 B.C. Cf. Livy, *epit.* 139: *Ara divi Caesaris ad confluentem Araris et Rhodani dedicata sacerdote creato C. Iulio Vercondaridubno Aeduo*. Dio Cass. 54, 32: *προφάσει τῆς ἐορτῆς ἥν καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀβυρόστου βωμὸν ἐν Λουγδοῦνι τελοῦσι*. Suet. *Claud.* 2: *Claudius natus est Iulio Antonio Fabio Africano cons. Kal Aug. Lugduni, eo ipso die quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est*. Cf. also Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, I³, p. 269. The *ara Vbiorum* at Cologne was modelled on the *ara Lugdunensis*. At this, in the year 9 A.D., a Cheruscan was priest. Cf. Marquardt, *l. c.* p. 272, and Tacitus, *ab excess.* I, 39; 57. There was also an altar at Narbo, but we cannot be entirely sure that it was provincial. Cf. *CIL.* XII, 4333. Another altar was that erected to Augustus after 31 A.D. by the *civitates Liburniae*. Cf. *CIL.* III, 2810, and Marquardt, *l. c.* p. 300, note 5.

Annals¹: *Templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum datumque in omnes provincias exemplum*. This temple, which may be seen on coins, was apparently inscribed *Deo Augusto*². The words of Tacitus, "*datumque in omnes provincias exemplum*", suggest a number of interesting questions, for we know that Augustus had already allowed temples to himself and Roma at Pergamum in Asia, at Nicomedia in Bithynia, and Ancyra in Galatia³. If this was the case, it may well be asked how Tarraconensis could be said to set the example to other provinces. There are various explanations offered for this difficulty. Beurlier⁴ supposes that *omnes provincias* refers only to the other provinces of Spain. Mispoulet⁵ refers this solely to the western provinces. Both of these distinctions are entirely arbitrary. Nipperday is much more reasonable in explaining this as the first national temple to *divus Augustus* alone, and says the example lay in the necessity imposed on other provinces to act likewise. The principal objection to this interpretation is that the provincial cult of the *divi* was an exceptional one and, therefore, cannot in any sense be said to have given an example to other provinces, where almost without exception the temples were not to *divus Augustus*, but to Rome and Augustus.

It has occurred to me that it would be a much simpler explanation of this passage to say that the example was set to the other provinces by the inhabitants of Tarraco in that they themselves requested the Roman government to be allowed to set up the temple to Rome and Augustus, whereas the temples elsewhere, except in Asia Minor, were set up by the direct act of the central government. This view is confirmed by what we know of some of the earlier cases. Thus the *ara Vbiorum* was clearly introduced by the central government, and was even regarded by the Germans as a symbol of oppression. Thus Tacitus⁶: *Quippe anno quo Germaniae descivere, sacerdos apud aram Vbiorum creatus ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles*. Again in a supposed speech of Arminius⁷: *Coleret Segestis victam ripam redderet filio sacerdotium hominum: Germanos numquam satis excusatuos quod*

¹ I, 78.

² Eckhel, I, 57 and 58.

³ Dio Cassius, 51, 20, 7.

⁴ Cf. p. 22 ff.

⁵ *Bull. Crit.*, 1888, p. 256.

⁶ *Ab excess.* I, 57, 2.

⁷ *Ibid.* I, 59, 6.

inter Albim et Rhenum virgas et secures et togam viderint. Aliis gentibus ignorantia imperii Romani inexpertae esse supplicia, nescia tributa: quae quoniam exuerint inritusque discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus, ille delectus Tiberius, ne inperitum adolescentulum, ne seditionis exercitum pavescerent. A similar altar was erected beyond the Elbe by Domitius, as we learn from Dio Cassius¹: καὶ τὸν Ἀλβίαν, μηδενός οἱ ἐναντιουμένου, διαβὰς, φίλιαν τε τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις συνέθετο καὶ βωμὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἰδρύσατο. At Lyons also the introduction of the provincial cult came under the administration of Drusus². Still later under the reign of Claudius a temple was built at Camulodunum in Great Britain in honor of that emperor, which Tacitus considers as a symbol of the eternal domination of Rome³. There, therefore, seems every reason for believing that the province of Tarraconensis was the first in the Occident in which the inhabitants themselves took the initiative in establishing the cult of Augustus. If we remember the condition of the Roman state when Augustus came into power, we shall see that these energetic efforts of various members of the imperial family to establish an imperial cult in the provinces are exactly what we should expect. The feeling of Italy towards the new government was long uncertain. It was, therefore, absolutely essential that the provinces should be firmly united in support of the new government. To attain this end, what could be more natural than that the imperial government should actively interest itself in the propagation of a worship which was addressed to the conception of Roman civilization as embodied in the reigning emperor?

At this point it may not be out of place to say a few words upon the often discussed and rather profitless question of whether the provincial or the municipal cult was the earlier. It seems to me that we cannot give any direct answer to this question. In the Occident it was apparently the custom of the emperor or his representative to establish first in some great provincial centre an altar or temple for the imperial worship, which should serve as an example to all the other municipalities of the province. As municipality after municipality followed the

¹ Dio Cassius, 55, X (édition Gros, VII, p. 600).

² Hirschfeld, *l. c.* p. 839.

³ Tacitus, *ab excess.* 14, 31; Seneca, *Apocol.* 8.

example thus set, the original seat of the worship came to be held in higher and higher reverence. By this reaction of the cults of the various municipalities upon the original seat of the cult, a provincial organization was evolved in which all of these municipalities took part. Let us take a concrete instance. We have first the altar and later the temple established at Tarraco. Then the worship spreads by imitation of these models among all the towns of Tarraconensis until in course of time 36 different cities come to be associated in the great provincial cult which gradually grew up around the original altar and temple¹. The provincial flamine thus became the most honorable office within the reach of the provincials.

The imperial cult was introduced into Baetica at a much later date and never attained such a high development as it did in Tarraconensis. Apparently the time of introduction is set for the year 25 A.D. by the following passage from the *Annals* of Tacitus²: *Per idem tempus Hispania Ulterior missis ad senatum legatis oravit ut exemplo Asiae delubrum Tiberio matrique eius exstrueret*. Krascheninnikoff³ argues with more ingenuity than probability that the cult was not introduced until a much later period, possibly under Titus. The inscription found at Castulo, 3271, may (or may not) have some bearing on this point:

Fisci curatori divi Ti. II in Baetica prae. Galleciae pref. fisci Germaniae Caesarum imp. tribuno leg. VII, flamine Augustali in Baetica primo.

Krascheninnikoff unhesitatingly declares that the emperor here mentioned is Titus, not Tiberius. Certainly Tiberius was never canonized. On the other hand, the usual abbreviation for Tiberius is Ti., for Titus T. If we refer this inscription to the reign of Titus, as we probably must, Krascheninnikoff apparently holds that since *primus* must have a chronological meaning, this inscription shows a late date for the provincial cult in Baetica. It seems to me, however, that it is by no means established that in this inscription the adjective *primus*

¹ This view is confirmed by the fact that these cult centres are not always limited by provincial lines. Some of these centres, in some instances, draw from more than one province, and others from only a portion of a province. Cf. Beurlier, p. 105.

² 4, 37, 1.

³ *Ueber die Einführung des provinziellen Kaisercultus im römischen Westen. Philologus*, LIII, pp. 147-189.

must bear a chronological meaning. On the contrary, I find it much more natural to assign to it a purely honorary significance. We seem to have plenty of analogies for this view. Thus, at Caesarobriga, 895, Domitia Proculina is *flaminica municipii sui prima et perpetua*. At Cartima, 1956, Iunia Rustica is *sacerdos perpetua et prima in municipio Cartimitano*. It is well known that this adjective as applied to the *Augustales* had a purely honorary sense. Thus, at Suel, 1944, we hear of a *sevir Augustales primus et perpetuus*, named L. Iunius Puteolanus, who is called *VI vir Augustalis in municipio Suelitano D. D. primus et perpetuus*. Outside of Spain, especially in the East, this use of *primus*, or its Greek equivalent *πρώτος*, is common¹. Even if we give to *primus* a chronological meaning, we are not forced to adopt the view of the Russian scholar. On the contrary, we may suppose that the inscription refers to the first man with the title of flamen, whose predecessors had been called pontifices. This seems most reasonable: first, because, as we have seen, there was a time when the line of demarcation between municipal and provincial cults was indistinct and when one reacted upon the other²; second, because we know, in many cases from inscriptions which can be definitely dated, that the priests of the imperial cult in Baetica were at first called pontifices³. Hence, in the present inscription, the fact that in the reign of Titus we have an official described as the 'first flamen' of Baetica does not compel us to postpone the introduction of the imperial cult to this more distant date. On the contrary, it is a much more rational supposition to hold that a cult of somewhat vague outlines, but essentially provincial and conducted by pontifices, was existing before this period, although the high state of evolution, implying a careful demarcation between the provincial and the municipal worship which we find in Tarraconensis, had not yet been attained.

Lastly, on the history of the establishment of the imperial worship in the province of Lusitania we have practically no evidence. Certain

¹ Cf. Guiraud, *l. c.* p. 83. In the present inscription, though by no means essential, it is not difficult to supply *et. perp.* in which case we should have a precise parallel with the inscriptions mentioned above.

² Cf. p. 137.

³ Cf. p. 120 ff.

municipal inscriptions of comparatively early date have been found¹. Two inscriptions, Nos. 35 and 5184, refer to one Bocchus, mentioned in the works of the elder Pliny as a Lusitanian writer². An inscription of a provincial flamen found at Emerita, 473, certainly suggests that the provincial priesthood of Lusitania devoted itself exclusively to the worship of the *divi*:

Divo Augusto, Albinus Albini f(ilius), flamen divi Aug(usti) Prov(in-
ciae) Lusitaniae.

ADDENDUM

On page 118, line 20, insert: In the following he holds aedileship and duumvirate: 2126, 2129, 3662, 3696, 3697, 3709, 3710, 3860, 4521, 4525, 4610, 4622, 6151.

¹ Cf. *CIL*. II, 5182, 49, 172, 183, 194.

² Cf. note in *CIL*. II, 35, and II, 5184. For another inscription referring to this same man cf. *Eph. Epig.* VIII, p. 356, No. 4.

ΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΣ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΣ

BY JOSIAH BRIDGE

IN the first antistrophe of the fifth Pythian ode are two verses which have received almost as many interpretations as there are editors of Pindar. The sentence in which these verses are imbedded is :

σὲ δ' ἐρχόμενον ἐν δίκῃ πολὺς ὄλβος ἀμφινέμεται·
 15 τὸ μὲν ὅτι βασιλεὺς
 ἔσσι μεγάλῃ πολίων,
 ἔχει συγγενῆς
 ὀφθαλμὸς αἰδοιότατον γέρας,
 τεῇ τοῦτο μὲν γινόμενον φρενί·
 μάκαρ δὲ καὶ νῦν, κλεεννᾶς ὅτι
 εὖχος ἤδη παρὰ Πυθιάδος ἵπποις ἔλων
 δέδεξαι τόνδε κῶμον ἀνέρων,
 Ἄπολλώνιον ἄθρυμα.

Supposing the received text as Pindar wrote it, the main question is, what is the meaning of *συγγενῆς ὀφθαλμός* (vss. 17 and 18)?

The scholia answer, ὁ ἰδιός σου ὀφθαλμός, adding that the eye stands for the whole body. This rendering merely calls attention to the difficulty. Ceperinus (1526) inserted δ' before ὀφθαλμός, while Heyne, retaining the δ', suggested *συγγενές*, adding that even if the masculine is retained the adjective must be supposed transferred to ὀφθαλμός "exquisitiore modo". Boeckh restores the manuscript reading and interprets, "your innate splendor of virtue has attained this highest glory of good fortune, tempered by your wisdom" (referring *γέρας* to *ὄλβος*). He sees here a mingling of two ideas with lyric brevity and finds delight in the contrast of an inborn virtue and excellence with a gift of fortune, as in *Ol.* 2, 11.

G. Hermann (an. 1834, cf. *Opusc.* VII, 146) with refreshing emphasis gives the situation to date. After charging the scholiast with gross stupidity, he limits the text to three possible explanations; *συγγενῆς*

ὄφθαλμός must refer to inborn virtue, or nobility of birth, or prosperity of family. He gives all three renderings of the clause and rejects each because it is illogical; because of the ambiguity arising from the uncertainty as to which of the three is the true meaning; because the construction is not satisfactory; and because the clause really adds nothing that is not implied in v. 14.

He next suggests a τ' after συγγενής, only to reject it as unsatisfactory.

He then proposes to read ἐπεὶ for ἔχει, interpreting, "You, abiding by the right, great prosperity attends; partly because you are a king of great cities; for this honor, most worthy of reverence, closely joined to your wisdom, is the glory of your family (*gentile lumen*); partly you are blessed because of your present victory in the Pythian games." Schneidewin adopts this reading. Mommsen (*Rh. Mus.* IV, p. 544 f.) requires a γε if ἐπεὶ be read, but suggests in his edition the τ' which Hermann has proposed only to reject.

Fennell translates, "It is the eye which regardeth thy family that keeps this most majestic honor associated with thy wisdom." He takes the clause as a parenthesis and says, "as below ὄμμα = 'protection', so here ὁ συγγενὴς πότμος is called ὄφθαλμός". For such metaphorical use of ὄφθαλμός in the sense of "protection" he compares Soph. *O. R.* 987, καὶ μὴν μέγας γ' ὄφθαλμός οἱ πατρὸς τάφοι. In his new edition he adds, "but here we must not forget that with Pindar deities are σκοποί" (cf. *O.* 1, 55). Mezger also takes ὄφθαλμός metaphorically, signifying "Glanz, Schmuck", and συγγενὴς ὄφθαλμός as equivalent to συγγενὴς πότμος. So, too, Gildersleeve, who understands by the words, "The blessing that comes from exalted birth." Finally Christ, who in his earlier edition read συγγενὲς ὄφθαλμός now reads συγγενές τ' ὄφθαλμός. He takes ὄφθαλμός literally as the eye of Arcesilaus "qui vultu gravitatem et maiestatem regiae dignitatis prae se ferebat quam innatam (συγγενές) et a maioribus acceptam habebat."

So commentators are agreed on one of two things; either the text must be changed or ὄφθαλμός must be taken here in a metaphorical sense which contains no suggestion of the eye that sees. But the manuscripts of Pindar are too good to warrant a change of text in the face of all without compulsion. Moreover, those who, in spite of J. H. H. Schmidt's verdict (*Synon.* I, 376 ff.), uphold the metaphorical

use of ὀφθαλμός do not profess to obtain from the passage a rendering satisfactory to themselves. If it can be shown that the text without change may be interpreted without violence to the use of words or to the grammatical structure and with decided gain to the thought, no further refutation is needed of an interpretation that offends under any one of these four heads.

The object of this article is to show that such an interpretation is found by taking συγγενὴς ὀφθαλμός with reference to συγγενὴς πότμος. The key to the difficulty lies in the fact that in this expression, as generally in Pindar, πότμος is personified. If it can be shown that Pindar regarded συγγενὴς πότμος as a living power whose province was the guardianship of the family to which he was attached, — the guardian spirit of the race, — there remains no reason why he should not speak of the eye of that spirit as looking out for the welfare of the race; or even why he should not call this family deity himself the 'eye of the family', exactly as Aeschylus calls Orestes ὀφθαλμὸν οἴκων (*Cho.* 934), "das Auge welches für sie (i. e. die Familie) schaut und bedacht ist" (Schmidt, *Syn.* I, 377).

The following baldly literal version will, it is hoped, bring out more clearly the facts to be proved.

"Thee, walking in justice, much prosperity attends; as for this (instance of thy prosperity), namely that thou art king of great cities, (it is) the eye of thy race (that) maintains this most venerable honor, joined-as-it-is to a character like thine; but blessed art thou in-the-present-instance (νῦν) too, in that, already having with thy horses won glory from the famous Pythian games, thou hast received this joyous rout of men, Apollo's delight. Therefore", etc.

It must be shown that this rendering is satisfactory in grammatical structure, in use of words, and in connection of thought.

As to grammatical structure three things are to be noted; first, the order is chiasmic; τὸ μὲν ὅτι corresponds with καὶ νῦν ὅτι; the clause ἔχει . . . φρενὶ with μάκαρ δέ. Such order in an antithetical sentence is like that in *Il.* 3, 51:

δυσμενέσιν μὲν χάρμα, κατηφείην δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ,

or in the 2d Pythian, v. 48:

τὰ ματρώθεν μὲν κάτω, τὰ δ' ὑπερθε πατρός.

Secondly, the use of the antithetical particles μέν . . . δέ splitting one general statement into two particular statements. In this our passage corresponds nicely with *Od.* 2, 45 ff.: ἀλλ' ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος . . . δοιά· τὸ μὲν πατέρ' ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσα . . . νῦν δ' αὖ καὶ πολὺ μείζον, etc. Here as in Pindar τὸ μὲν, introducing a well known fact of long standing, is contrasted with νῦν, emphatically stamping the recent event.

Thirdly, the significance of the two *ὅτι* clauses. The sense is against taking *ὅτι* as purely causal. The statement in v. 14 is not that Arcesilaus is prosperous, but that under certain circumstances his prosperity is abiding. "Your continuous prosperity is assured because you are king" may seem to some logical, but it is not the reasoning of Pindar who knows that prosperity depends on the will of Zeus. The fact that Arcesilaus is still king is due to the watchfulness of a higher power; his present victory is due to the grace of heaven. Therefore, he must remember to give the credit where it is due. The support of this argument comes under another head; here it is only necessary to add a parallel use of *ὅτι* in Pindar. In *Pyth.* 2, 30 ff., where the two sins of Ixion are specified, the words αἱ δύο, as well as the general sense, bear witness that the two *ὅτι* clauses are not merely causal, but rather statements of what constitute "those two sins".

If now the proposed rendering is satisfactory on grammatical grounds it needs next to be shown that no strain is put on the use of words. That ὄλβος is the gift of Zeus, Nausicaa tells us (*Od.* 6, 188), Ζεὺς δ' αὐτὸς νέμει ὄλβον Ὀλύμπιος ἀνθρώποισιν. So in Pindar ὄλβος is θέορτος (*Ol.* 2, 40) sent by θεοῦ Μοῖρα (*Ol.* 2, 23) who here stands, Mezger points out, for the will of Zeus. This same ode (*Ol.* 2, 40) testifies to the rendering of ἔχει. In the Olympian, Moira maintains from father to son τὸν εὐφρονα πότμον of the Emmenidae as in our ode a like power keeps its choicest honor in the family of the Battiadae.

But the word most in need of definition is συγγενής. As this word ordinarily means "of the same race, kindred", and as we know that συγγενής χεῖρ means "a brother's hand", so we should naturally take συγγενής ὀφθαλμός to refer not to the eye of Arcesilaus, but to the eye of another of his race, — "a kindred eye". Yet as many editors have taken the word here and elsewhere in Pindar in the sense of "inborn", an examination of the Pindaric usage is in order.

The word is found 9 times in Pindar. Its single use in the plural (*Pyth.* 4, 133) in the sense of 'kindred' presents no difficulty. Two of the eight uses in the singular are in the expression *συγγενής πότμος*. There can be no doubt that this is the same *πότμος* mentioned in *Ol.* 2, 40 (cf. Seymour's note to *Isth.* 1, 39), a *πότμος* that attends a family from father to son. With it rests the decision of all the acts of the family to which it belongs (*Nem.* 5, 40). It is the cause when a man passes out of misfortune back to former prosperity (*Isth.* 1, 40). *Συγγενής πότμος* is, therefore, a divine power, not something born in a man and his exclusively, but a power outside of the man which looks out for him and others of his race.

For a better understanding of what this expression meant to Pindar three things should be born in mind: Pindar himself was intensely aristocratic, — the men with reference to whom he uses *συγγενής* were all of noble birth; noble birth meant descent through the heroes from the gods. Such divine origin implies divine protection and guidance; the idea of a special divinity attending a race is familiar to us from *Ol.* 13, 105, where he is called *δαίμων γενέθλιος*; finally, *συγγενής πότμος* is another of Pindar's expressions for this protecting power that attends a race by virtue of its origin.

Besides this external power there is in the men themselves a family trait due to and testifying to their noble birth. So in *Ol.* 13, 13 are found the words *τὸ συγγενὲς ἦθος*. This expression may refer, as some editors make it, to Pindar; but it looks forward with still more force, adding stress to the words *παῖδες Ἀλάτα*. It is an *ἦθος* which belongs to the race by right of birth as descendants from the Heracleid hero Aletes; a hereditary quality which makes them do great deeds by sheer necessity. Again in *Nem.* 1, 26–28 the neuter *συγγενές* is used alone to denote a family trait. It is remarkable how closely passages in different odes expressing similar thoughts resemble each other in the form of expression. In this passage in the Nemean we have in antithesis *σθένος* and *φρὴν*; *ἔργω* and *βουλαῖσι*, as in the 13th Olympian victories in athletic contests and *σοφίσματα*. In both cases these are birthrights. Again, to emphasize the idea of family in the Olympian we have "Sons of Aletes," the Heracleid hero, which traces the birth-right back to the hero Pindar loves to dwell on (*Nem.* 1, 33): in the Nemean we have not Chromius, but "Son of Agesidemus," with imme-

diate and prominent reference to Heracles. This parallel helps confirm the conjecture of Dissen (Boeckh's edit. II, 2, p. 357) that Chromius claimed a Heracleid descent¹; in the Nemean as in the Olympian the birthright was due to Heracles.

Then there are two instances of the simple neuter, τὸ συγγενές. In *Nem.* 6, 10, where the family of Alcidas, which wins athletic victories in alternate generations, is compared to a farm which bears one year and lies fallow the next, τὸ συγγενές is the expression for this family peculiarity. The other instance occurs in the earliest extant ode of Pindar, *Pyth.* 10, 12. All that was implied by συγγενὴς πότμος, divine protection attending a race from generation to generation by virtue of its divine origin, is here implied by the neuter adjective alone; while the article shows that "that kindred thing" conveyed an idea familiar to the hearers. The exact rendering of the passage is disputed. In spite of the fact that no other instance of the perfect of βαίνω in a causative sense has been adduced, the temptation is great to say with the scholiast that here is one instance. The temptation is strengthened by a comparison with *Isth.* 1, 39-40. The parallel is fairly close; in the Isthmian συγγενὴς πότμος is the cause of conduct; in the Pythian just the same power is expressed by the neuter adjective; in both instances the personal object, so easily inferred, is omitted; the verb in each case is a compound of βαίνω, undoubtedly causative in the Isthmian; moreover, the thought is the same: that divine power which has the race in its keeping causes the same course of life in different generations.

Still closer is the resemblance of the passage in the 10th Pythian to the one under discussion. Each lays stress on the fact that a god is the cause of success; each gives two illustrations, the first how in this special instance Apollo caused the victory; the second how besides in the case of the victor there is a divine power, his by birthright, constantly watching him and guiding his footsteps. The important difference in the two cases is sharply marked by the Greek; in the 5th Pythian, Arcesilaus did not contest in person, so his own prowess is not dwelt on; in the 10th, Hippocles himself ran; hence ὁ μὲν που. This point is missed if we make the antithesis between τεοῖς γε μῆδεσιν and

¹ So also Freeman, *Sicily*, II, p. 492.

τὸ συγγενές. The order surely suggests that ὁ μὲν is contrasted with τὸ δὲ συγγενές, the human power with the divine. This is a case where a god gave the impulse; to be sure, the poet adds, the man did the deed, 'though by thy counsels, Apollo'; but it was that divine power that guards the race that caused him to do as his father did before him.

But however we render τὸ δὲ συγγενές, clearly Hippocles owed it to family. And all these instances, where συγγενής clearly refers to membership in a certain race and to inheritance, caution us against rendering συγγενής εὐδοξία of *Nem.* 3, 40 "innate virtue" with reference merely to the individual in whom it is born; συγγενής εὐδοξία, like the γνήσιαι ἀρεταί of *Ol.* 2, 12, proves the possessor a true scion of the race.

Thus we find that συγγενής in Pindar always has reference to family; that συγγενής πότμος is a family deity which guards the race to which it belongs; that the neuter of συγγενής by itself can conjure up the idea of συγγενής πότμος and all that expression implies. For the aristocratic Pindar, then, the word συγγενής is in itself associated with the thought of noble birth, divine origin and divine protection, and all this is contained in the final instance of its use, — the συγγενής ὀφθαλμός of our text. Literally interpreted the expression only means "the kindred eye," but, as the thought which this passage expresses proves, the kindred eye is the eye of the kindred being, — of the πότμος συγγενής. Pindar does not even leave us any room to doubt that he would use ὀφθαλμός in connection with πότμος; for in *Pyth.* 3, 85–86 we have a king under the eye of Destiny:

λαγέταν γάρ τοι τύραννον δέρκεται,
εἰ τιν' ἀνθρώπων, ὁ μέγας πότμος.

Pindar's use of this word πότμος suggests that the key to the interpretation of a passage must be sought sometimes rather in the general thought than in the exact use of words. For πότμος is used in two distinct senses in Pindar. Sometimes it stands for Moira herself (*Ol.* 8, 15), the mistress of the lesser πότμοι (*Ol.* 2, 40), in which sense ὁ μέγας πότμος and πότμος ἀναξ (*Nem.* 4, 42, perhaps also *Nem.* 6, 8) are used; more often, as we have seen, the term is used for a special inferior divinity that attends a man or his race. But whether we have πότμος or Μοῖρα as sovereign Destiny, whether συγγενής πότμος, δαίμων γενέθλιος or simply δαίμων, as at the end of our ode, for the lesser

powers, the thought is simple and consistent enough; there is the sovereign power who may directly oversee the acts of men if they are great enough, but usually he works through lesser divinities attached to separate stocks.

Arcesilaus, in honor of whose victory the 5th Pythian was composed, belonged to the family of the Minyae (Hdt. 4, 150) who are under the special oversight of the graces (*Ol.* 14, 3 ff.). He was the eighth in unbroken line from that Battus who, under the leadership of Apollo founded Cyrene and was worshipped after death as a hero (v. 89). What better example could Pindar find of divine favor attending a man because of his noble birth?

In noting the connection of the passage under discussion with the theme of the ode it will be observed that the first epode begins with the conclusion of an argument. *Therefore*, says the poet, you must not forget, when your praises are sung, to give the credit where it is due. Of what is τῷ the consequence?

The theme of the ode is suggested, rather than directly expressed, by the opening statement; "Great is the power of wealth joined to virtue when God gives it to man." It would be a mistake to infer from this that we are to have an ode in praise of wealth; we have to deal with the relation of four things, wealth and virtue, God and man. The wording of the third verse is significant; if βροτῆσιος is not mere padding it suggests at the outset that man's incompleteness is part of the theme; whereas πότμου παραδόντος states the source of his blessings.

Arcesilaus is the instance the poet has in mind of a man sailing under heaven's high favor. The part that virtue, a prerogative of noble birth, has to play is also illustrated by Arcesilaus; he merely walks in justice; in consequence god-given prosperity continues his. Not only, for example, does his kingship, a conspicuous instance of εὐλος, owe its maintenance not to his own efforts but to the watchful eye of a divine power, — his own good character, of course, being the condition of its continuance, — but here comes a special blessing in his Pythian victory. *Therefore* he must not forget, when his own praises are sung, that it is really a god that is the cause of all. The τῷ takes up all the elements of the opening sentence; not only is it a fact that Arcesilaus owes his position to heaven, but his recognition of this fact with his consequent

proper conduct is one of the conditions of the continuance of his blessings.

Thus, if *συγγενής ὀφθαλμός* be taken to refer to the eye of *συγγενής πότμος*, the clause, by showing that Arcesilaus owed his sovereignty to a divine guardian, becomes an integral part of the thought.

There is no need to give at length the argument of the rest of the ode, which now passes from praise of the charioteer to the general prosperity of the race of Arcesilaus since Battus under Apollo's special guidance first crossed the seas to found Cyrene. From praise of Apollo and the Aegeid race the poet returns to the special praise of Battus and Arcesilaus. The ode ends with a prayer which sheds some light on our passage. Above Apollo is Zeus "whose great mind guides the *δαίμων* of men who are dear to him. May he give the race of Battus victory at Olympia." The use of *δαίμων* and of *γένος* here is significant; as Apollo has steered the family *δαίμων* to Pythian victory, so may Zeus to Olympian.

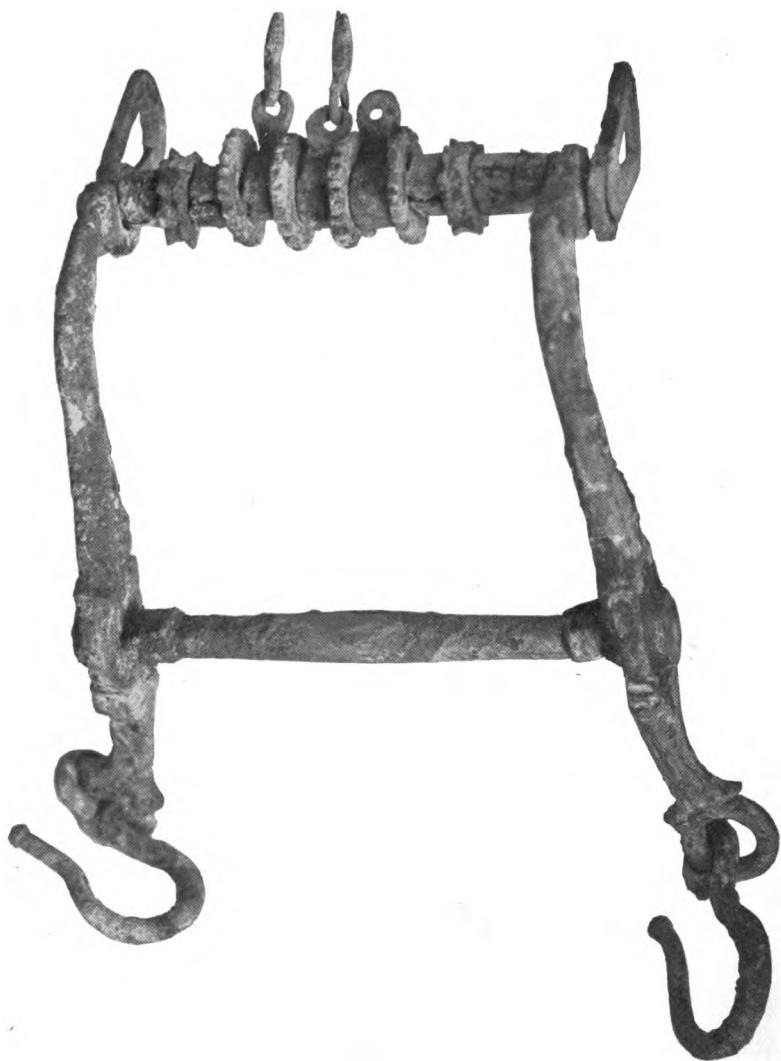


FIGURE 1.

ANCIENT ROMAN CURB BITS

BY ROBERT EMMONS LEE

[Visiting the Museo Nazionale at Naples in 1896, I noticed among the *Piccoli bronzi* a form of bit which I had not seen described. It struck me at once that this was intended for a curb bit in the modern sense: i. e. a bit of such a nature that it gave a leverage upon the lower jaw of the horse not unlike the action of the modern curb bit. The peculiar form, especially the curve in the branches, could to my mind mean nothing else. I, therefore, procured photographs to be made by some persons connected with the Museum and obtained permission to take measurements. Unfortunately in the necessary haste of the proceeding these latter were not so complete as I should have desired; but as it proved they were sufficient for the purpose in view, namely, to establish the fact that the Romans used bits of this general character and to show how they operated. The bits were numbered 120266 and 75572 in the Museum Catalogue. Both were found at Pompeii, the first in 1890, and the second at an unknown date. The photographs are here given (Figs. 1 and 2). The important dimensions, as I have them in my note book, are given below in Mr. Lee's report, p. 153.

I at once made a rude model of wood and cardboard to ascertain the direction of the draught of the reins and its effect. This I applied to a picture of a running horse. Of the appearance of the bit thus applied I give a photograph (Fig. 3). This, of course, had no convincing force, though it confirmed my suspicion, and I determined to investigate the matter further. But, after my return the next year, I had no immediate opportunity to work up the observations. The next year, however, thereafter (1898-99), having a course in Harvard University on the Private Life of the Romans, I gave to one of my pupils, (who was accustomed to horses and fond of their management,) Mr. Robert Emmons Lee, the notes and photographs to treat as a 'thesis' in that subject, suggesting to him my own ideas on the matter and requesting him to put these ideas to the test of actual use in the management of horses. He undertook the work with enthusiasm and the test proved more satisfactory than I had expected, showing conclusively, as it seems to me, that in this case at least, the Romans, besides the savage contrivances well known to have been attached to

their bits, used also a real curb in the modern sense with leverage for effect on the jaw. This view has often been opposed by students of the subject and by myself until I caught sight of these two bits.

Mr. Lee's report is here presented as given for a thesis in the course above mentioned. The photographs which he took of the bit in action are here given together with other representations for comparison. — J. B. GREENOUGH.]

THERE seem to have been two general types of bit among the Greeks and Romans; the straight bar, and the snaffle or jointed bit. To judge from the remains, the latter was probably the more common. Disks, τροχοί, and sharp little points, ἐχίνου, were often put on the bit, probably to keep the horse's mouth partly open, and to prevent him from seizing the bit between his teeth. The bit was kept in position by branches somewhat like those which we have at present on many of our riding bridles, but of several different forms. The most common were long and slightly curved. On the monuments and in the remains that have come down to us, however, we find branches made in the form of triangles, half circles, the letter S, and so forth; while others are more complicated, being in the form of horses or other animals. The cheek-piece of the bridle was divided part way down into two straps which were attached to the lower or inner, and upper or outer part of the branch respectively, while the reins were fastened to rings directly connected with the bit at its ends. This was a very old arrangement and is well seen on many Assyrian monuments and Greek vases. For an Assyrian representation, see the monument of Assurbanipal hunting wild asses, a cut of which is in Dr. M. H. Morgan's *Art of Horsemanship by Xenophon*, p. 145; and for representations from Greek vases see the *Archäologische Zeitung*, XLIII, taf. 11, Panofka's *Bilder Antiken Lebens*, I, 5, and Gerhard's *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, IV, 247, or Dr. Morgan's book referred to above, pages 20, 23, and 27 respectively. The reins, being attached directly to the mouth piece, and not to the branches of the bit, gave no sort of leverage; and no high pressure, such as is exerted by our curb bits, could be obtained. A bit of very complicated structure as to the branches, which was found recently at Barbarano, is described and figured in *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 1897, pp. 137-146; but its mechanism does

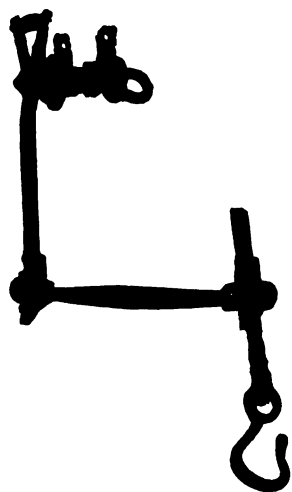


FIGURE 2.

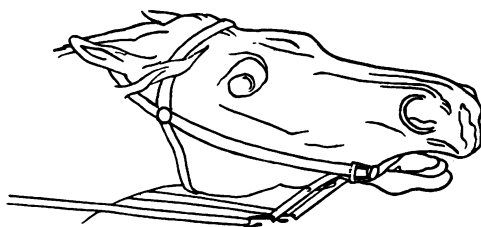


FIGURE 3.

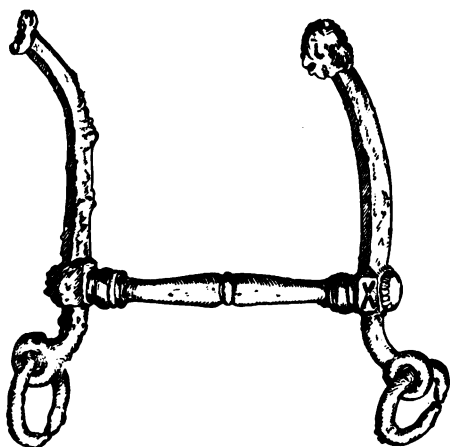


FIGURE 6.

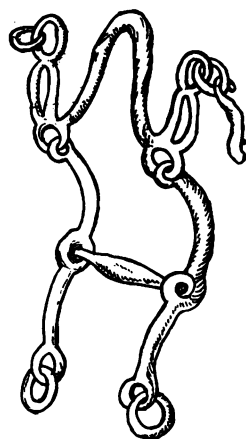


FIGURE 7.



FIGURE 8.

not differ in principle. A well known form figured in *Bull. de Corr. Hellénique*, 1890, p. 386, is referred to for comparison. But, it is universally agreed, none of these are curb bits in our sense.

In the Naples Museum, however, as reported to me by Professor Greenough, are two bits which must have acted on a different principle from the ancient bits above described, and which seem to point to the conclusion that curb bits were used by the Romans. One of these, No. 120266 (see Fig. 1), is in practically perfect condition. The branches, instead of stretching in both directions from the mouth piece, go only in one, and about two-thirds of the way down there is a cross bar. The mouth piece is easily identified by the four τροχοί, the two disks of ἐχίνοι, and the two small pendants, which were used, probably as we use them now, to keep a horse from lolling, or sticking his tongue out of his mouth. At the ends of the branches are two hooks where the reins were attached, probably by rings, and at each side of the mouth piece an attachment to which the bridle was fastened. The mouth piece passes through the ends of the branches and revolves freely within them. The distance from the centre of the mouth piece to the centre of the cross bar is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and from the cross bar to the ends where the hooks are attached, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The length of the mouth piece is $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches, while the length of the cross bar is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Near the mouth piece the branches have a curve of about an inch.

The other bit, No. 75572 (see Fig. 2), is not in so good condition as the first; but, fortunately, enough is preserved to give us its form and measurements. Unlike the other it is a snaffle bit, but otherwise it is practically the same, with the exception of the hook, which turns toward the side instead of to the front. The distance from the centre of the snaffle to the centre of the cross bar is $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches, and from the cross bar to the end where the hook is attached, 2 inches. The length of the half of the snaffle which remains is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, which would make the whole mouth piece originally $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; and the length of the cross bar is $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches. In this bit the curve at the mouth piece is also about an inch.

After studying these bits it seemed likely, as suggested by Mr. Greenough, that they might act on the principle of our modern curb bit, with the cross bar taking the place of our curb chain, and working

as a fulcrum in place of the chain. The only question was, would the cross bar touch the horse's cheek bones, and, if so, would it not be too far up to act as a fulcrum (see Fig. 4)? Taking the measurements of the first bit described, No. 120266, I had a model made, but without the τροχοί and ἐχίνοι, which seemed to be needless details, as the action of the bit would evidently be the same without them. In making it, the smith, unfortunately, followed a rough model, which I had first made from lead and brass, more closely than the photograph which I gave him, so that the copy does not present as finished an appearance as I could wish, although the measurements are correct. The hooks were of great help in showing which way the bit should go in the mouth, as the curve of the branches made the difference of about an inch in the place where the cross bar hit the cheek bones. If the bit had been placed in the mouth so that the convex side of the curve faced front instead of back, the cross bar would have come higher up and would then have exerted less leverage, although still enough. The hooks, however, showed that the curve went back, otherwise the rings attached to the reins would easily have slipped from the hooks. I tried the bit several times, and found that it acted as a perfect curb, the cross bar touching the under part of the cheek bones in such a position that, when the reins were pulled back, it furnished a very powerful leverage on the horse's jaw (see Fig. 5). If used with very much force, and very quickly, I think it would break the cheek bones. The bit moves very easily, owing to the fact already stated that the mouth piece, with the square rings serving to attach it to the cheek-pieces, revolves in the branches; or, what amounts to the same thing, if the mouth piece is held stationary, as it is by the cheek-pieces of the bridle, the branches will revolve round that.

In order to satisfy myself that the size of the horse made no difference in the working of the bit, I tried it on a small pony and found that it worked practically as well.

In the Vienna Museum there is a bit, described by Ed. von Sacken in the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthist. Samml. des A. H. Kaiserhauses*, I, p. 48 (see Fig. 6), which closely resembles those in the Naples Museum. It was found at Pinguente, a few miles southeast of Trieste, in 1866. It evidently dates from about the time of Antoninus Pius or later, for several coins of his reign were found near it in the ruins. The mouth

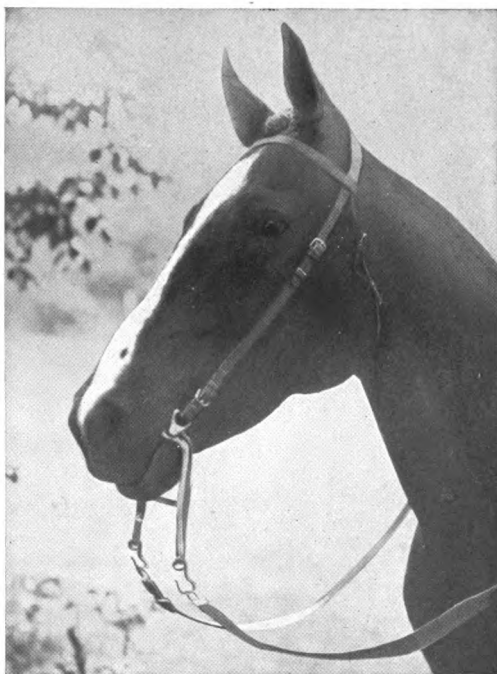


FIGURE 4.

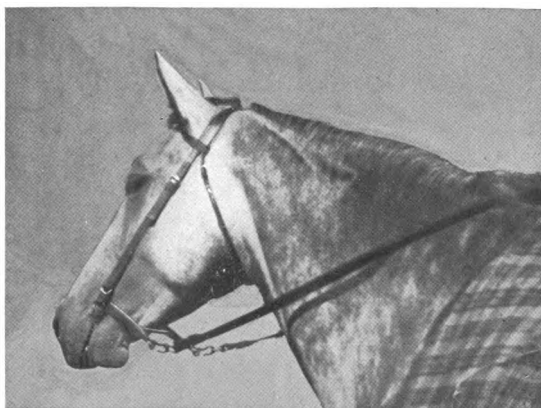


FIGURE 5.

piece is missing, but otherwise it is like the Naples bits, with the exception that rings are used at the end of the bit instead of hooks. In describing the bit, Ed. von Sacken says: "Bei dem Stangenzaum von Pinguente ist die Stange 11 Ctm. lang (bei den heutzutage üblichen beträgt die Länge derselben 11-13 Ctm.), in der Mitte etwas dicker, ebenso an beiden Enden, wo die Verstärkungen gegliedert sind. Die Zugstangen sind vierkantig, 10 Ctm. lang, mit Oehren am Ende zur Aufnahme der Zügelringe; die beweglichen Ringe für die Kopfstämmung befinden sich in den Oehren kurzer, ausgebogener Stangen." Although von Sacken recognizes in this bit a different principle from the ordinary one, and thinks that it might have been a curb, yet, according to this statement, he evidently thinks that the cross bar was the mouth piece, that the two rings were used to hitch the bit to the bridle, and that the sockets at the ends were to hold rings for the reins. When we look at it closely, however, it does not seem probable that a mouth piece would be so finely finished as this cross bar is. Besides, there are no τροχοί and ἐχίνοι, which are usually, although not always, found on the bits. Again, there is about the same curve to this bit as to those at Naples. The rings are probably merely a simpler form than the hooks, to which the reins by means of rings had to be attached. On the whole it seems likely that this bit is of the same kind as those in the Museum at Naples.

Another bit in the Naples Museum (see Fig. 7), figured in Ceci's *Piccoli Bronzi del Mus. Naz. di Napoli*, 2d ed., Pl. VII, fig. 48, is somewhat like those already described with the exception of what I think is the mouth piece. It is described by Ceci as a "bride et mors," but the upper part does not seem to be part of the bridle. It is more probable that it is a mouth piece, something like our "spoon bits," which are used on very hard mouthed horses. When much pressure is used the "spoon" strikes the roof of the horse's mouth, and forces the mouth open. The cross bar is the only other part which could be used as the mouth piece, and, like the Vienna bit, it seems of too fine workmanship for that use, besides lacking the τροχοί and ἐχίνοι. If the mouth piece is a "spoon bit," however, it would not need the τροχοί, its action being so dissimilar to the usual bits. The lower part would act in just the same way as in the bits already described. We often use a "spoon bit" in connection with a curb.

Representations of the bit on monuments seem to be rare. Fig. 8 shows a bit on a horse from Trajan's column (taken from Froehner's *Colonne Trajane*, pl. 44 ; see also pl. 61 and Vol. IV, pl. X) that may be like the Naples bits, although it does not actually show the cross bar in the representation.

We have then the remains of four bits which seem to act on a different principle from any other ancient bits known, — namely that the reins were attached to the ends of the branches instead of to the mouth piece direct. One might object that the cross bar was used simply for the purpose of strengthening, but if so, why was it not placed lower so as not to strike the cheek bones when the rider pulled on the reins, and again what advantage could there be in the peculiar curve at the mouth piece? At any rate, in striking the cheek bones, it did act as a fulcrum in the same manner as does the chain on our modern curb bits. It seems perfectly safe then to draw the conclusion that, although we have no literary evidence for it, the Romans did use a curb bit of substantially the same form as our model.

[Still more recently, the present year, in another course on the Private Life of the Romans, I gave the subject to another pupil, Mr. Wm. Edmunds, for a further trial on other kinds of horses, particularly on an unbroken mustang. He reports to me that he "made numerous trials" (of Mr. Lee's model) "on various kinds of horses, kind tempered and scarcely broken, large and small, and also used it for driving." He thinks the "curve was intended to be reversed in driving in order to lessen the harshness of the curb." This would not affect the main question except as tending to show that the bit would act as a curb in either position of the branches. He further says :

"The cross bar is no doubt an excellent substitute for the curb chain, the only fault being its tendency to wear the skin from the jaw bone, for that is where it strikes. I think that were sufficient force exerted, one could easily break a horse's jaw.

As the cross bar is now situated, it exerts a tremendous force on the horse's jaw until the horse brings his head in ; after that, however, unless the reins are held perpendicularly over his head, a most awkward and unnatural position, it loses its power. The object, however, of bringing the horse under subjection is accomplished, for no horse can attain any alarming speed with his head in such a position. Thus the bit prevents a runaway."

He continues :

"Let us now see of what practical use it is in breaking a horse. If the horse is of fine spirit, that is, a first-class gentleman's saddle horse, the bit would never do ; for only the lightest and easiest of straight bits are used in the first stages of horse breaking. On a broncho, or mustang, the trial which I made shows that the running and bolting can be broken with the bit, but as for the bucking, it seemed to make him all the worse. The bit is only to be used on a very wild and, I might say, bad-tempered horse, whose spirit you care nothing about. It would ruin a high-strung horse in a very short time.

We find then that the bit works wonders as a curb, and as a coachman remarked to me, 'it is the wickedest one I ever see.'

There is but one possible point which might militate against the curb theory, and that is in the location of the cross bar. The farther from the mouth piece the bar is, the less effective it becomes. The bar of the model strikes on the jaw bone, an unusual place for a curb to strike. Fortunately, with the actual dimensions the bar works on the jaw in such a way as to leave no doubt as to its being a curb. Up to a certain point, the curb, with the slightest pressure forces the horse to yield, but beyond that point it has no effect, as I have stated. The object, however, of the curb is by that time accomplished.

Our modern curb chains act on the fleshy part of the mouth under the lower lip. Now, were this cross bar in the same position as the curb chain of to-day, that is, about one inch nearer the mouth piece than it is, the effect would be much quicker, and at the same time it would do less physical damage to the horse.

In driving, the bit works equally as well, and when reversed, as I suggested, makes or would make, if constructed in a lighter manner, a comfortable and effective driving bit.

It was suggested to me that the bit be patented, made wider and lighter in construction so as to fit any horse, and also made with the cross bar an inch nearer the mouth piece. It was claimed by a number of experienced horsemen that the bit gave excellent opportunities for show both in itself and in its effect upon the horse. The bit could be highly ornamented and chased, and the slightest pressure on the reins would cause a horse to put on a great deal of style. The trials, then, that I made show conclusively that the bit is a curb and a very wicked one." — J. B. GREENOUGH.]

NOTES ON THE PHORMIO

BY H. W. HAYLEY

[For some time before his lamented death, Dr. Hayley had been making preparations to edit the *Phormio*. The following notes, selected from the papers found in his desk, are here printed exactly as he left them.]

73. *mi usu venit hoc*: so F, and C has *usus* with a point under the second *s*. Most editors read *usus venit* with D¹ P; but a careful examination of all the passages in the comedy where that idiom occurs will, I think, show that *usus venit* would mean 'there has been need,' 'opportunity,' or 'occasion' (for a thing). See Plaut. *Bacch.* 363, *Cist.* 147-8, *Epid.* 535, *Merc.* 518, *Mil.* 3, *Poen.* 726-7, *Stich.* 475; Ter. *Ad.* 895, *Phor.* 505, *Haut.* 553, 556-7. Hence I read *mi usu venit hoc*, 'I have found this out by experience.' The idiom *usu venire* is not uncommon, occurring seven times in Cicero's orations, and at least once in Caesar (*B. G.* 7, 9, 1); and here it gives exactly the required sense. For the parataxis with the following *scio*, cf. *Ad.* 360, *persuasit ille impurus, sat scio*.

97. *ea sita erat exadvorsum*: a difficult passage. The question turns upon the meaning of *sita erat*. On the whole, it seems most probable (if the text be sound) that it should be rendered 'had been placed' or 'left lying'; cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 609, *ita probe* (sc. *aurum*) *in latebris situmst*; ib. 615, *in tuo loco et fano est situm*; Cato, *R. R.* 89, *ne plus aqua sita siet horam unam*. The Greeks and Romans were accustomed to "lay out" the body of the dead opposite to the entrance of the house, with the feet turned toward the outer door (see Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, p. 347, n. 9; Becker-Göll, *Charikles*, III, p. 123). As the girl had no one to carry the body to the grave, it had been left lying just as it had been laid out. That *sita erat* can itself here mean 'had been laid out' is not probable, as it does not seem to occur elsewhere in this sense in any classical writer; though Vergil, *Aen.* 2, 644, has *positum . . . corpus*, with a closely similar meaning. See also

Gellius 20, 2, and Nonius s. v. *Sititines*. It must be admitted, however, that *situs est* and *sita est* so often mean 'buried' from the time of Ennius (*Sat.* 69, Müller) down, that a Roman would scarcely have been expected to understand the phrase in any other sense. Cf. the well known formula H. S. E. Donatus says: *sita pro posita*, which may look either way. But it is hardly probable that the woman would have been *buried* in the neighborhood of the barber's shop (*huc vicinia*, 95).

131. *quod erit mihi bonum atque commodum*: 'so far as shall be advantageous and convenient for me.' *quod* is restrictive, as in the phrases *quod possum*, *quod queo*, *quod in me est*, *quod ad rem attinet*, *quod sciam*, etc. So also Elmer. Many editors, however, prefer to punctuate with a colon or semicolon after *confingam*, and understand *quod . . . commodum* as referring proleptically to *quom . . . refelles* in the next line. But it is noteworthy that the explanations in Donatus show that ancient scholars connected the clause with the preceding, not the following sentence. One of these explanations is that the words are a kind of joke: Phormio says *quod erit mihi bonum atque commodum* 'ominis causa,' just as the Romans were accustomed to say *quod felix faustumque sit* when beginning any important undertaking. Another is that the sense is *tuto confingam*, i. e. 'which will be safe and easy for a professional trickster like me.' But it seems better to take the *quod* as restrictive rather than as the ordinary relative.

156. *quid istuc?* so Bentley; the mss. have *quid istuc est*. Those who retain *est* read *consciui's* at the end of the line, instead of *consciui'sis* (which stands in all the mss.). Schlee (*de vers. in cant. Terent. consec.* p. 16 f.) objected to Bentley's reading that "*quid istuc? verba sunt mirantis, verba autem quid istuc est? sunt rogantis.*" This distinction seems too strongly made, and it is very doubtful whether any great difference of meaning exists. *Quid hoc*, *quid illuc*, and *quid istuc* frequently express surprise at something that has occurred, but in Plautus *quid istuc est* is sometimes used in the same way (see Brix, *Miles*², critical note on 1306); and, on the other hand, *quid istuc* may ask for an explanation of something said by the person addressed, like *quid istuc est*: see Ter. *Eun.* 947, Plaut. *Truc.* 394. Moreover, if we omit *est* and read *consciui'sis*, the line becomes trochaic, like those which

precede and follow, and we have an unbroken trochaic sequence down to 160. The mood of *sis* is not decisive, as Terence sometimes uses the indicative in such relative clauses (so *Eun.* 794). But *est* could easily be inserted after *istuc* by one who knew that *quid istuc est* was more usual. See also Klotz, *Altröm. Metrik*, pp. 396–7.

190. convasassem: probably originally a word belonging to the slang of the camp, 'to get the baggage (*vasa*) together.' Cf. *vasa colligere, vasa conclamare*. The statement of Nonius (p. 87), *convasare dicitur furto omnia colligere*, is probably a mistaken inference from our passage, as the idea of *stealth* does not seem to lie in the word itself. It is very rare, but comes to the surface again in Christian writers (Jerome, Sidonius).

EPIGRAPHICA

BY MINTON WARREN

IN the archaic inscription recently discovered in the Roman forum occurs the word IOVESTOD. In the first publication in regard to the Stele, in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for May, 1899, Ceci recognized the possibility that this might stand for *iustod*, but rejected this interpretation in favor of *Iove estod*, although there is no interpunct such as is usually found between the words of the inscription. Hülsen, in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for August 5, 1899, and Skutsch, in the *Litterarisches Centralblatt* for August 12 and September 23, contend that *iovestod* = *iustod*, and this view is still maintained by Skutsch in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for March 31, 1900, in a review of Tropea's *La Stele Arcaica del foro Romano*. Comparetti, on the other hand, in *Atene e Roma*, II (1899), 10, reads *iou estod* = *diu estod*, *diu* being taken in the sense of 'by day,' which seems to me improbable. Perhaps additional evidence for the interpretation *iusto* may be derived from a hitherto unexplained gloss of Paulus, p. 74, ed. De Ponor: *Iovistae compositum a Iove et iustae*. See Mueller's edition for various attempted emendations. Given an early form *iovestae* or *iovistae* with the meaning of *iustae*, it is easy to see how the explanation would occur to a grammarian. Assuming, as we must, that *iovestae* was the earlier form, we should hardly expect the change to *iovistae* except as a result of popular etymology through the influence of *Iovis*. So von Planta, *Grammatik der Oskisch-Umbrischen Dialekte*, II, p. 211, speaking of Umbrian *esto*, says, "Im Lateinischen entspricht *iste, ista, istud* wohl mit *i* statt *e* nach *is, id*." Compare, however, for other views Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 430, and Stolz, *Historische Grammatik*, p. 138. The opposite change of *is* to *es*, before *t*, is better attested. See Quintilian, I, 4, 17, "*Quid? non e quoque i loco fuit? ut Menerva et leber et magester?*" See also instances of *sinester* and *minester* given in my edition of the *Codex Sangallensis*, 912, p. 129. Compare Corp. VI, 23774, *sinesteriore*; X, 2614, *sinest(eriores)*; XIV, 1383,

senexteriori; 1473, *senestriori*. These examples are given by Sommer, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XI (1900), p. 28, and explained as partly due to the influence of *dexter*, and partly to popular etymology connecting them with *senex*. For other late examples see Corssen, II, 216. Stolz is probably right in saying that *i* in such a position differed little in pronunciation from *e*, and Sommer, *l. c.* p. 60, says, "Solche Formen beweisen nichts weiter als dass überhaupt das kurze *i* des Lateinischen eine offene Aussprache hatte wie ja öfter auf Inschriften *ē* for *i* erscheint." We may then consider *iovestae* and *ioivistae* as practically the same. In the early period there doubtless existed as gen. s. of *ius*, *iovesis* (*ioveris*), and the gen. pl. *iovesum* (*ioverum*) would coincide in form with that which Varro, *L. L.* 8, 74, gives for Iuppiter. "*Neque oportebat consuetudinem notare . . . signa alios Ioum alios Iouerum.*" Perhaps we ought not to set aside so lightly as has been done by the editors, comparing Cicero *de Officiis*, 3, 29, the testimony of Apuleius *de Deo Socratis* 5, "*Nam et iusiurandum Iovisiurandum dicitur, ut ait Ennius,*" for we may have here a survival of an older form of *ius* which was misunderstood by the grammarians or by Apuleius. See also Festus, p. 468, ed. De Ponor, "*Naevius, Ius sacratum Iovis iurandum sagmine,*" which Ribbeck emends to *Iovis sacratum iūs iurandum sagmine*.

In Paulus, p. 73, ed. De Ponor, we find the gloss *iusa*: *iura*, followed by *iubere ponebatur pro dicere quod valet interdum pro decernere, ut: populus iussit*. This suggests that Festus and before him Verrius Flaccus in their fuller treatment may have connected *iubeo* with *ius*, a mistake, if mistake it be, which has been committed by many scholars since their time. Scaliger, in his *de causis L. L.* c. 32, derived *iubeo* from *ius habeo*, and Corssen repeatedly affirmed this derivation, which is the only one given by Harper. De Vit-Forcellini derive *ius* from *iubeo*, and Georges says of *ius* "von einer Wurzel mit *iubeo*." Otto Keller, in his *Lateinische Etymologien*, p. 64, and Wölfflin, in *Archiv*, VI, p. 434, still explain *iubeo* as = *ius habeo*, and the latter, to explain the construction of *iubeo* with *ut*, cites Terence, *Hecyra*, 243, where *ius esse* is followed by *ut te cogam*.

Comparative grammarians, however, have long abandoned this view. See Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 481, where *iubeo* is equated with yū-dh-eyo, cf. O. Ind. yō-dhati, 'is set in motion,' while the forms with

ou are said to correspond exactly with the O. Ind. causative yōdhāyāmi.¹ See also Hirt, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, X, pp. 28 ff.

Of old Indian forms Varro, however, knew nothing, and we may be reasonably certain that if he had been asked to etymologize *iubeo*, he would have pitched upon *ius* as offering the readiest solution both in form and meaning. The spelling *ious* is attested in inscriptions, and forms like *iouiset*, *iouisit*, *iouserunt*, *iouserit*, must have suggested association with it. How early any such association was felt, we cannot of course tell, but it has occurred to me that possibly the original composer of the Duenos inscription meant to write *ioveset* = *iouset* = *iusit*, *iussit*, and that the correction of the second *e* to *a*, and the insertion of *i*, if it be a letter, after the first *e*, would not have been countenanced by the author. Thurneysen, one of the latest interpreters of the inscription, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, XXXV, pp. 193-212, would read *iovaset* in the sense of *iuverit*, claiming that the graver by error corrected the second *e* to *a* instead of the first. For a defence of the final *i* in *ioveset* as against the *d* of *fecid* in the same inscription, see Thurneysen, *l. c.* p. 199, and compare *dedit* and *fecid* in two inscriptions (*Corp. XIV*, 4112) of apparently the same date on a Praenestine casket. (See Conway, *Italic Dialects*, p. 321.) Assuming then that *ioveset* may equal *iussit*, I would compare Macrobius, I, 12, 28, "*unde et mulieres in Italia sacro Herculis non licet interesse, quod Herculi cum boves Geryonis per agros Italiae duceret, sitiēti respondit mulier aquam se non posse praestare, quod feminarum deae celebraretur dies, nec ex eo apparatu viris gustare fas esset, propter quod Hercules facturus sacrum detestatus est praesentiam feminarum et Potitio ac Pinario sacrorum custodibus iussit ne mulierem interesse permitterent.*" My interpretation of the first sentence of the inscription, *ioveset deivos goi med mitat, nei ted endo cosmis virco sied asted*, would be similar to that of Buecheler, usually a safe guide to follow, in *Rheinisches Museum*, XXXVI, p. 235, "wer mich den Göttern Juppiter und Saturnus schickt, nicht soll Dich hinein begleiten eine Jungfrau oder dabeistehen," except of course that *deivos* is made the subject of *ioveset* and Jupiter and

¹ As long ago as 1869 Benfey proposed to derive *iubeo* from **yavas-dhā* with affix *aya*. Here **yavas*, older form of Sanskrit *yās*, would exactly correspond to *ioves* in *iovestod*. Cf. *Abhandlungen der Kön. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen* Bd. XVI, pp. 3-45, *Iubeo und seine Verwandte*.

Saturn are eliminated; *cosmis*, I admit, to be still a puzzle; *asted* I still think is better connected with *adsto*. Assimilation seems to have taken place early in this verb. The Ambrosianus of Plautus has *ast* in twenty places, *adst*, in only two. *Cas.* 728, *etiamne adstas?* (*astas* B). *Mil.* 201, *adstittit*. Naevius, *Com. Fr.* 26, has *astant* and *astat*. *Corp.* VI, 746, has *ara posita asstante sacerdote*, cf. Lucret. 1, 89, *ante aras adstare parentem*, and Ovid. *Met.* 8, 480, *Ante sepulchrales infelix astittit aras*. In the acts of the Arval Brethren we find both *astantibus* and *adstantibus*. In *Corp.* II, 745, we have *ast* for *astante*. In *Corp.* V, 895, *astante civibus*.

For *iussit* used in connection with a god compare Virgil, *Aen.* 7, 428; 12, 854; Plautus, *Amph.* 64 and 73 *iussit Iuppiter*; *Cas.* 406, *Quia Iuppiter iussit meus*; *Cas.* 408, *Quia iussit haec Iuno mea*. Plautus commonly uses the infinitive construction, but in *Amph.* 205, *Telebois iubet sententiam ut dicant suam*, he uses *ut* + subj. and elsewhere the subj. without *ut*. In the Duenos inscription, however, the *ne* clause may be taken as paratactic. Space forbids my attempting the interpretation of the inscription as a whole. My conjecture that *ioveset* = *iussit*, suggested by the form *iovestod*, perhaps deserves no better fate than has befallen Pauli's *io veisat*. I would only add, as a curious instance of *u* or rather *y* being represented by *ove* in a late inscription of the year 384, Buecheler, *Carmina Epigraphica*, 111, v. 13, *movestes* for *mystes*, of which Buecheler remarks "quod monstrum Jahnius docuit *mustes* et *moestes* formarum conflictu esse partum."

In the *Mélanges D'Archéologie et d'Histoire* for 1890, Vol. X, pp. 303-316 and Plate VI, Louis Duvau under the title 'Ciste de Préneste' gives a number of inscriptions found upon a bronze cista of whose provenance Duvau simply says "une ciste découverte à Palestrina, et dont un célèbre collectionneur parisien veut bien nous communiquer le dessin." Elia Lattes, in his *Le Iscrizioni Paleolatini dei fittili e dei bronzi di provenienza etrusca* (Milan, 1892), repeats the inscription (133), and Conway gives it in his *Italic Dialects*, p. 321 f., where he says "Duvau vouches for the inscription and it seems almost too curious for a forgery, though it is suspicious that

he is not allowed to say where the bronze is." Lindsay also gives the inscription with a brief commentary (*Latin Inscriptions*, p. 31). The inscriptions on the cista, in the direction from left to right, are: 1, *confice piscim*; 2, *coenalia*; 3, *cofeci*; 4, *feri porod*; 5, *made mirecie*; 6, *misc sane*; 7, *asom fero*. Lindsay gives them in a different order. 2 (?), 3, 4, and 6 are written from right to left. Of 1 and 2 Conway says, "*confice piscim* said by an energetic cook (who is taking down from hooks two hind quarters of some animal) to another who is cutting or frying something; *coenalia* along the hind quarters that are being taken down." Conway does not interpret *coenalia*. Lindsay says, "the whole (scene) is entitled *coenalia*, *cenalia* Neut. Plur., 'a dinner scene.' The spelling *coenalia* is interesting, for it proves that even at this early period Latin *cena* had been wrongly connected with the Greek *κοινός*." Duvau, who seems not to have copied or seen the inscription himself, says, "Cette ciste est, par endroits, oxydée, et par suite, quelques parties de la scène ou des inscriptions peuvent n'être pas très certaines." Of the second inscription he says, "Elle se distingue extérieurement de toutes les autres par la forme relativement régulière et nettement archaïque de ses lettres; on n'y reconnaît pas la main malhabile à écrire de droite à gauche des inscriptions 3, 4, et 6; enfin on y trouve une forme de lettre, la seconde (an O open at the bottom), qui n'existe nulle part ailleurs dans la ciste. La lecture des six derniers caractères semble certaine: . . ENALIA . . . Cette ligne se distingue donc encore des six autres en ce qu'elle ne contient pas de verbe: elle ne fait sans doute pas partie du dialogue. Je serais porté à croire qu'elle a été gravée par un main différente et plus ancienne; qu'à l'origine c'était la seule inscription que portât notre ciste." He then discusses *coenalia*, which he recognizes ought to be *cenalia*. He asks, "Est-ce un composé latin de *cum* et d'un dérivé de *edere*? Est-ce un mot emprunté? Nous n'en savons rien." Finally, in despair he even proposes, with great doubt, to read COEPI ALIA.

For myself I should prefer to regard the inscription as a forgery than to accept the form *coenalia* in so archaic an inscription. Duvau dates it between 515 and 525 A. U. C.

From inscriptions and manuscripts we know that the spelling *cena* maintained itself until a late period. See the evidence given by Georges, *Lexikon der Lateinischen Wortformen*, p. 124, who says at the

end "Die Schreibung *coeno* erst sicher bei Isidor, 20, 2, 44." Add a late inscription of 462 A.D., *Corp.* VI, 8460, where *cenariorum* occurs, and the curious compound *inlustricenare*, *Corp.* X, 3692, Buecheler, *Carmina Epigraphica*, 255. The Ambrosianus of Plautus has uniformly *e* in *cena* and its derivatives, and this spelling is amply confirmed by the Oscan, Umbrian, and Sabine forms of the word.

The adjective *cenalis* is not elsewhere found. The scene represented is not a dinner, although it might be entitled 'preparations for a dinner.'

I propose to read the inscription from left to right AILANEOS. *AI* stands for *ait*, the final *t* being omitted, as it is in *made*, if the interpretation *madet* be correct. The word *ait* occurs in *Corp.* IV, 1375, *AIT SECVNDV*, and we may compare IV, 1679, *Edone dicit assibus hic bibitur*, etc. *Laneos* for *lanius* in a Praenestine inscription need not surprise us. Compare *fileai*, *Corp.* XIV, 4112, and *Fabrecio*, XIV, 3178, both from Praeneste. Moreover, in the Appendix Probi (see *Archiv*, XI, p. 307, the latest ed. by Heraeus) we find *Lanius non laneo*. Possibly *LANEO* was the reading of our inscription, and the final letter of which Duvau is uncertain may have been a mere scratch. The second *C* in *cofeci*, as given by him, might well be read as *S*, and is so read by Lattes, and the letter taken as *C* in *coenalia* might well be a part of an *S* like that seen in *ASOM*.

Of course I shall be met with the assertion that the inscription is written in a retrograde direction, and I cannot deny that reading from left to right the letters *J* *E* and *W* do have this form. This I account for by supposing, as Duvau remarks, that the graver was accustomed to write from right to left, and in writing from left to right, he still gave these letters in the retrograde form. Hübner notes in his *Exempla*, p. LXIII, that the form *W* occurs in *Corp.* IX, 4139; IX, 4990; VIII, 1083, and I have noted it repeatedly in the Vaticanus of Terence (*C*) in Scene Headings that have been added by a corrector. Moreover, Conway gives a similar explanation (*Italic Dialects*, p. 129) in speaking of an Oscan inscription, the Memnim-curse. "The variation in the direction of the letters is remarkable. The inscription is mainly written from left to right, and the Oscan signs reversed, but except in ll. 1, 2, 4 and 5, their normal position is frequently retained. . . . From this it seems to me clear that the variation is not due to ignorance of Oscan, but to a conscious attempt to write it from left to right."

Of inscriptions 3 and 4 Conway says, "*cofeci* said by a man holding out a dish of viands in response to another holding an empty dish downwards who says *feri porod* (or *potrod*).” The R of POROD has a peculiar form, but I do not think a ligature for TR is probable, as there are no other ligatures in this inscription. Duvau interprets as "*feri porro*, frappe encore, continue à tuer.” Lindsay interprets "strike away," and in his *Latin Language*, p. 568, he cites this inscription to prove that in *retro, citro, ultro, porro*, the *ō* represents earlier *ōd*, the abl. case ending of O-stems. The interpretation seems probable enough, and it is only with some diffidence that I propose another. In Petronius, c. 56, the words '*porri et persica*:' *flagellum et cultrum accepit*, have given rise to much discussion. Friedländer remarks, "Dass die *porri* das *flagellum* bedeuten, erklärt Jacobs wohl mit Recht daraus, dass eine der beiden Gattungen des *porrum sectile* oder *sectivum* hiess (zu Martial, 3, 47, 8) und *flagello secare* eine geläufige Verbindung war." See also *Lexicon Petronianum* sub verbo. Possibly *porod* for *porrod* in our inscription is an ablative of *porrus* = *flagellum*, i. e. a stick, or rod, or scourge. The word perhaps is preserved in this sense in Plaut. *Poen.* 817 ff., where Milphio says at the beginning of a scene :

Expsecto, quo pactó meae techinaé processuraé sient.

Studeo hunc lenonem pérdere : qui méum erum miserum mácerat :

Is me autem porro vérberat, incúrsat pugnīs, cálcibus,

where *porro* may be an ablative with *verberat*, as *pugnīs* and *calcibus* with *incursat*. Of course, it has always been regarded as the adverb. If we can accept it as a noun, light is at once thrown upon the Petronius passage. Körting, in his *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch* under *porrum*, says, "Ob span. cat. ptg. *porra*, Keule mit dickem Ende (auch ungehobelter Kerl) u. das adj. *porro*, ungeschliffen, plump, bäuerisch, hierher gehören, bleibe dahingestellt, denkbar aber ist es immerhin. Der Vergleichungspunkt des Lauches mit der Keule würde in der dicken Knolle des ersten zu finden sein," vgl. Dz. 448, *porra*. Spanish dictionaries which I have consulted give "*porra* a club, *porrada* a knock or blow with a club headed stick, *porrazo* a blow with a club, but generally used for any blow or stroke with any instrument, or with the hand." Possibly this use then was as old as Plautus or as our inscription, and there is no need to differentiate the stem of

porrus, club, stick, from that of *porrum*, *porrus*, leak. If we accept *feri porro* in this sense, the reference may be to the dog in the scene, who apparently is about to make a spring for the dish containing viands carried by the person to whom the words *feri porro* are addressed. Compare Donatus to *Eun.* II, 3, 66, where in the comment on the words *Homo quatietur certe cum dono foras* Donatus says, "Vel sic dixit: FORAS QVATIEIVR ut desit *versum*, ut sit FORAS VERSVM VERBERABITVR ut verberetur et fugetur foras. Nam et pervulgatae consuetudinis dictum est. *Feri canem foras* hoc est feriendo canem foras eiice." Conservative readers, who may be willing to make *feri* refer to the dog, will perhaps prefer to take *feri porro* in the sense of *feri foras*. My principal object in dealing with this inscription has been to do away with the form *coenalia*.

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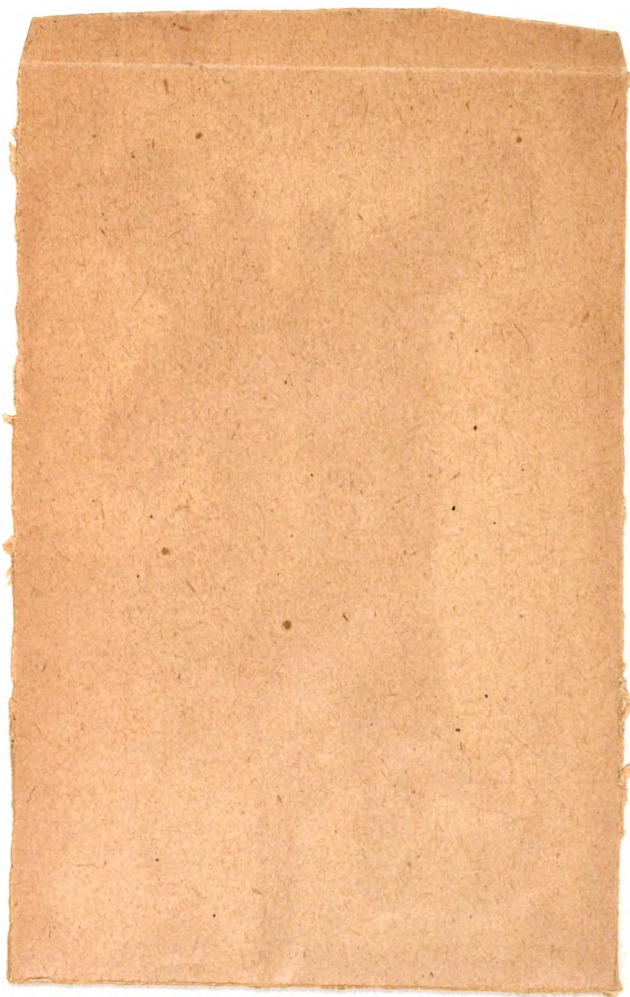
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